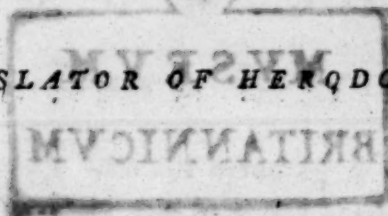


THE
ATTIC NIGHTS
OF
AULUS GELLIUS:

2H.d.
16

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,
BY THE REV. W. BELOE, F.S.A.

TRANSLATOR OF HERODOTUS, &c.



IN THREE VOLUMES,

VOL. III.

LONDON:
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THE

ATTIC NIGHTS

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AULUS GELLIIUS

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

By the Rev. J. O. E. L. S. A.

CMC

MUSEVM
BRITANNICVM

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THE
ATTIC NIGHTS
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BOOK XIII.

CHAP. I.

An accurate enquiry into the meaning of those words which are found in the first of Cicero's Orations against Anthony—"But many things seem to happen contrary to the order of nature and of fate".—Examination whether those two words, "fatum and natura," have the same or a different signification.

MARCUS CICERO, in his first Philippic, has left these words: "I hastened to follow him, whom those who were present did not

¹ *Fate.*]—Cicero's treatise on Fate has come down to us in so mutilated a state, that it is not easy to collect from it what was his opinion on that subject. Whatever were his private sentiments upon it; as a philosopher, he would speak, as an orator, in popular language; according to which, a

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not follow, not that I could be of any service (for I did not expect that, nor could I accomplish it); but if any thing to which human nature is liable had happened to me, (for many things seem to happen contrary to the order of nature and of fate) I should this day leave my voice a witness to the republic of my perpetual attachment to its interests." Here he uses the words *fate* and *nature*: whether he intends they should bear the same signification, and uses two words instead of one, or whether he has so divided and separated them, that *nature* seems to bear one meaning, and *fate* another, is, I think, worthy of consideration. And first, we must enquire how

man who died what we call a natural death, was said to die according to fate; whereas an accidental death was supposed to be according to the regular course of fate or nature. Some philosophers also made fate and nature the same. Alexander Aphrodisiensis concludes, after arguing the point, that fate is nothing more than the peculiar nature of each individual. He also cites Theophrastus for the same opinion.

Theophrastus, says he, clearly demonstrates, that according to nature and according to fate mean exactly the same.

See Lucan, ver. 91.

Deus magnusque potensque
Sive canit fatum, seu quod jubet ipse canendo
Fit fatum.

which Milton thus imitates—

Though I uncircumscribed myself retire,
And put not forth my goodness, which is free
To act or not, necessity and chance
Approach not me, and what I will is fate.

he

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he can affirm that many things may happen (*humanitùs*) according to the order of human nature, (*præter fatum*) in opposition to fate, since the plan and order, and unconquerable necessity of fate is so appointed, that in the will of fate all things are included, unless he has followed Homer's expression,—

Left, spite of fate, you visit Pluto's realm.

There is no doubt, however, that Homer here means a violent and sudden death, which may justly seem to happen contrary to nature. But why he has called that sort of death contrary to fate, it is not our business to enquire, nor have we time for the investigation. However, it must not be passed by, that Virgil has expressed the same opinion as Cicero upon fate, as in his fourth book, where he speaks of Elisa, who suffered death by force,

Since nor by fate nor her deserts she fell.

As if in dying, those modes of death which are violent do not seem to come by the order of fate. But Cicero seems to have followed the words of Demosthenes, a man of equal wisdom and eloquence, who has said the same things of nature and fate, in his excellent oration, *περί στέφανου*. “He who thinks himself born only for his parents, awaits the natural and regular order of death; but he who fancies himself born for the service of his country, will meet death

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that he may not see his country enslaved." What Cicero seems to have called fate and nature, Demosthenes long before called "the natural and regular order of death," which is that sort of death which comes in the course of fate and nature, and is occasioned by no external force.

CHAP. II.

On the familiar conversation of Pacuvius and Accius in the town of Tarentum.

THEY who had leisure and inclination to enquire into the modes of life which learned men pursued, and to commit them to writing, have related this anecdote of the tragic poets Marcus Pacuvius and Lucius Accius. "When Pacuvius," say they, "was an old man, and afflicted with perpetual disease of body, he retired from Rome to Tarentum. Accius, who was a much younger man¹, in his way to Asia, coming

¹ *Younger man.*]—According to some authors he was fifty years younger, yet he exhibited a tragedy under the same ædiles. Fragments remain of many of his tragedies, some of the finest of which are preserved in the philosophical works,

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ing to Tarentum, visited Pacuvius, and being politely treated, and detained by him many days, read, at the request of Pacuvius, his tragedy of Atreus. Pacuvius, they said, remarked that his lines were sonorous and full of dignity, but that they seemed rather harsh and rugged. "What you say," replied Accius, "is true; nor do I lament it is so. Yet I hope that what I write in future will be better. For what we observe in fruits is true of the powers of the mind², those which at first

works of Cicero, and all are collected in the fragments of the ancient Latin poets, by H. Stephens.

Paterculus prefers him to Pacuvius, though he allows this latter to be a more correct writer. Horace, giving the popular judgment of his time concerning them, says—

Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prius; aufert
Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti.

Quintilian repeats nearly the same opinion of them.

* *Powers of the mind.*.]—There are some excellent remarks by Dr. Warton, in his Essay on the Genius of Pope, which may serve to illustrate this opinion of Accius. He is speaking of the early signs of genius in a young man, and thus distinguishes the effects of opposite qualities: "If his predominant talent be warmth and vigour of imagination, it will break out in fanciful and luxuriant descriptions, the colouring of which will perhaps be too rich and glowing. If his chief force lies in the understanding rather than in the imagination, it will soon appear by solid and manly observations on life and learning, expressed in a more chaste and subdued style. The former will frequently be hurried into obscurity or turgidity, and a false grandeur of diction; the

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first are rough and bitter, become afterwards mild and sweet. But those which are soft and smooth, and are mellow at first, do not afterwards become ripe, but corrupt. It seems therefore that in the mind something should be left for time to improve."

latter will seldom hazard a figure, whose usage is not already established, or an image beyond common life; will always be perspicuous, if not elevated; will never disgust, if not transport his readers; will avoid the grosser faults, if not arrive at the greater beauties of composition; the "eloquentiæ genus" for which he will be distinguished, will not be the "plenum, et erectum, et audax, et præcellum," but the "pressum, et mite, et limatum."

A remark somewhat of a similar kind occurs in a fragment of Alexis the comic poet, preserved in Athenæus. It is thus translated by Mr. Cumberland, in his fourth volume of the Observer:

"The nature of man in some respect resembles that of wine, for as fermentation is necessary to new wine, so is it also to a youthful spirit; when that process is over, and it comes to settle and subside, we may then, and not till then, expect to find a permanent tranquillity."

The same idea is carried on in a subsequent passage, which also is preserved in the same place, and translated by the same person thus:—

"I am now far advanced in the evening of life's day, and what is there in the nature of man that I should liken it to that of wine, seeing that old age, which recommends the latter, mars the former; old wine, indeed, exhilarates, but old men are miserable to themselves and others."

Antiphanes the comic poet has struck upon the same comparison, but with a different turn, "Old age and wine," says he, "may well be compared; let either of them exceed their date ever so little, and the whole turns sour."

C H A P. III.

Whether the words necessitudo and necessitas have distinct meanings.

IT is a circumstance worthy of ridicule, that many grammarians assert there is a great and material difference between *necessitudo*¹ and *necessitas*; that *necessitas* is a certain urgent and compelling power, *necessitudo* a certain law and bond of religious connexion, and this is its only signification. But as there is no difference whether you

¹ *Necessitudo*.]—Cicero confirms the observations of Gellius by his usage of these words. In his oration de Haruspicum responsis, he has, “ordo rerum et *necessitudo* for necessity; and in that for Roscius, we find *magnam necessitatem possidet paternus maternusque sanguis*,” and in that for Sylla yet more clearly, “Si nostram *necessitatem* familiaritatemque violasset.” In both which places intimacy of union must be understood. Yet some old grammarians still extant, insist upon the distinction of the words.

Necessarius was commonly used for a relation. See for example Apuleius, p. 4. Price’s edition.

Hunc talem quanquam *necessarium* et summe agnitum, &c. The following from Seneca is no bad commentary on the chapter before us:

“Officium esse filii, uxoris, et earum personarum quasi *necessitudo* suscitatur et ferre opem jubet. See also Festus, at the word *necessarius*.”

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say *suavitus* or *suavitas*, *sanctitudo* or *sanctitas*, *acerbitudo* or *acerbitas*, *acritudo* or (as Accius in his Neoptolemus) *acritas*, so there can be no reason why *necessitudo* and *necessitas* should be considered as distinct. In old books you usually find *necessitudinem* applied to signify that *quod*² *necessum est*, but *necessitas* is seldom used *pro*³ *jure officioque observantiæ affinitatisve*, although they who are united by this *jus affinitatis familiaritatisve* are called *necessarii*, relations. I have, however, in that speech of Caius Cæsar, wherein he recommends the Plautian rogation, met with the usage of *necessitudo* in the sense of *jus affinitatis*. His words are these, *equidem*⁴ *mibi videor pro nostrâ necessitate, non labore, non opera, non industriâ defuisse*. I have written thus much upon these two words, since I read the fourth book of Sempromius Asellio, an old writer of history, in which he thus speaks of Paulus Africanus, the son of Paulus: “*Nam*⁵ *se patrem suum audisse dicere Lucium Æmilium Paulum minus bonum imperatorem signis*

² *Quod.*]—That which is necessary.

³ *Pro.*]—For the law and duty of reverence and affinity.

⁴ *Equidem.*]—I seem indeed, according to the nature of our relationship, to have omitted no labour, pains, or industry.

⁵ *Nam, &c.*]—“For Lucius Æmilius Paulus had heard his father say, that a good general would never engage standard to standard, unless the greatest necessity obliged him, or the fairest opportunity presented itself.”

collatis decertare; nisi summa necessitudo aut summa ei occasio data esset."

CHAP. IV.

The pleasant and wise reply of Olympias, the mother of Alexander, to her son.

IN many of the records left us of Alexander's exploits, and a little while ago in a book of Marcus Varro, entitled "*Orestes*," or "*De Infania*," I read that Olympias, the wife of Philip, wrote¹ a very witty answer to her son Alexander.

¹ *Olympias wrote.*]—Plutarch relates two different accounts of the conduct of Olympias on this point. He writes thus, "Eratoſthenes ſays that Olympias, when ſhe brought Alexander on his way to the army, in his firſt expedition, told him in private the ſecret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave himſelf with courage ſuitable to his divine extraction. Others again affirm, that ſhe wholly declined this vanity, and was wont to ſay, *Will Alexander never ceaſe to make Juno jealous of me?*" For the credit of the lady's underſtanding it is to be hoped that the latter is the true account. A ſcandalous ſtory is told by ſome authors, of an intrigue with Neſtanebus, king of Ægypt; but this is refuted by chronological reaſons. Dion Chryſoſtom, in his fourth oration *de Regno*, relates a curious dialogue between Alexander

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ander. When the youth thus addressed his mother,
 " King Alexander, the son of Jupiter Ammon,
 sends

ander and Diogenes on this subject,—“ Are you that Alexander,” said the philosopher, “ who is said to be spurious ?” At this Alexander blushed, and grew angry, but restrained himself. He began, however, to repent that he had condescended to converse with a clownish, insolent man, as he then thought him. Diogenes, observing that he was ruffled, resolved to humour him, as a child at play with dice ; and when he asked, “ What could induce you to call me spurious ?” “ Because,” replied Diogenes, “ I hear that your mother gives it out. Is it not Olympias, who says of you, that you are not the offspring of Philip, but of a dragon, or of Ammon, or I know not what god, or man, or animal ? In which case you must be spurious.” At this Alexander smiled, and was singularly pleased ; considering Diogenes not only as not clownish, but as peculiarly elegant in his manner of paying a compliment. Dion relates further, that when Alexander asked the philosopher, whether he believed this account or not, he replied that it was as yet uncertain ; suggesting that it remained for him to prove his origin by his actions.

The following extract from Leland’s Demosthenes seems also to deserve a place here :

“ Flattery, and indulgence to the weakness of Alexander, who, when intoxicated with his successes, conceived the vanity of being thought the son of Jupiter, seem to have given rise to the fiction of an enormous serpent discovered by Philip in strict intercourse with his queen. The sight of a serpent in her bed, some of the ancients do not allow to have been so very extraordinary, in a country where they were tame and harmless ; and as Olympias, who was remarkably devoted to the celebration of the enthusiastic rites of Orpheus and Bacchus, is said to have danced in these ceremonies with great tame serpents twining round her, sometimes interwoven with the ivy of the sacred spears, or with the chaplets of her attendants,

sends health to his mother Olympias," Olympias replied to him in this manner: "I beseech you," says she, "my son, be at peace, do not summon me to a court of judicature, nor accuse me before Juno; for she will surely bring a grievous punishment upon me, when she finds it confessed in your letters that I am her husband's harlot." This polished wit in a wise and prudent woman, addressed to her ferocious son, seemed tenderly,

attendants, in order to inspire spectators with the greater awe and horror. Yet henceforward, saith Plutarch, his affection sensibly abated; and whether he feared her as a forcereis, or imagined that she held a commerce with some god, and was afraid of offending a superior rival, his correspondence with her became less frequent; and having sent to consult the Delphian oracle on this alarming occasion, he received for answer, that he was to pay peculiar honours to Jupiter Ammon, and must expect to lose that eye which had presumptuously intruded on the secret communication of a divinity with his wife. According to Justin, Olympias herself first suggested the account of the serpent; and is said by Eratosthenes, an ancient historian, to have informed her son, as he was preparing his expedition into Asia, of the secret of his birth. But this information was possibly nothing more than clearing up the suspicions of his legitimacy; and assuring him that he was really the son of Philip, whose actions might, with all propriety, have been urged as an incitement to his son to approve himself worthy of so great a father. This sentiment seems to have been confirmed by the well known answer of Olympias to her son's letter, in which he styled himself the son of Jupiter; for when the queen complained that Alexander *made mischief* (if I may be allowed the expression) between her and Juno, I cannot conceive it in any other light but that of rail- lery on his fantastical vanity.

and

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and by degrees, to advise him to lay aside the idle opinion, which, from his success in war, the flatteries of his followers, and his extraordinary prosperity, he had imbibed, that he was the son of Jupiter.

CHAP. V.

Of the philosophers Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Menedemus, and the graceful modesty of Aristotle in his appointment of a successor to his school.

ARISTOTLE the philosopher, being sixty-two years of age, became sick, and weak in body, and there remained little hope of his life. The whole band of his followers then waited upon him, requesting and entreating that he would himself appoint a successor to his office and school, to whom, after his decease, as to himself, they might apply themselves in perfecting those studies, in which they had hitherto been instructed by himself. There were at that time many in his school, who were very accomplished, but two of particular merit, Theophrastus and Menedemus¹. In talents and learning these exceeded

¹ *Menedemus.*]—It seems generally agreed, that this ought to be Eudemus, no Peripatetic of the former name being known,

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ceeded the rest. Theophrastus was from the island of Lesbos, Menedemus from Rhodes. Aristotle replied, that he would comply with their request, as soon as an opportunity presented itself. A short time after, when all those were present who had consulted him about their future master,

known, whereas Eudemus is spoken of by several authors as a favourite of Aristotle, and he was a Rhodian.

The anecdote related in this chapter is not to be found, where we might reasonably expect to find it, in Diogenes Laertius.

Perhaps, in his decision on this question, it might not be impossible that Aristotle was in some degree influenced by his local attachment to Lesbos. It was at Mytilene, the capital of Lesbos, where he established himself as a teacher. See Diog. Laertius, b. v. chap. 3. &c. and Dionys. Halicar. Epist. ad Ammon.

The Lesbian wine is mentioned in the first book of Athenæus, not as remarkable for its sweet flavour, but rather from its astringent properties, which seems to imply some degree of tartness. Horace applies the term *innocens* to the wine of Lesbos.

Hic *innocentis* pocula Lesbii
Duces sub umbra.

He talks, in the ninth epode, of drinking it out of larger cups,—

Capaciores affer huc puer scyphos,
Et Apia vina aut Lesbica.

No greater compliment is any where paid to Theophrastus, than by Cicero in his Epistles to Atticus. Cicero was particularly delighted with the writings of this philosopher. He calls him *delicias suas*, and in many places styles him his friend, with many encomiums on his merit.

he

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he said, that the wine he was drinking did not suit his health; it was disagreeable and harsh; he must therefore look out for some foreign wine from Rhodes, or from Lesbos. He begged they would provide him with some of either sort, and said he would use that which agreed with him best. They hasten to find, procure, and bring him these wines. When Aristotle, calling for the Rhodian, tastes it, "This," says he, "is a strong wine, and palatable." He next asks for some Lesbian, and tasting that too, "Each," says he "is certainly a good wine, but the Lesbian has the sweeter flavour." When he said this, it was evident to all, that with ingenuity and modesty, he had fixed not upon his wine, but his successor; namely, Theophrastus the Lesbian, a man equally remarkable for the charms of his eloquence and his good conduct. Not long after, Aristotle dying, they all became the followers of Theophrastus.

CHAP. VI.

The term which the old Latins applied to what the Greeks call accents.—That neither the ancient Romans nor the people of Attica had such a word as barbarisms.

WHAT the Greeks call *accents*¹ our more learned ancient writers called *notae vocum*, sometimes *moderamenta*, or *accen-*

¹ *Accents.*]—On the very obscure subject of the ancient accents, the chief guide we have for our conjectures is, that most of the words by which they were expressed have reference to musical sound, thus *προσῳδια* means a singing to, from *προς* and *ᾠδή*; *accentus* is its literal translation, from *ad* and *cano*: *notae vocum*, the notes of words, and *moderamenta*, still lead us to the same notion; *accentiuncula* is merely a diminutive of *accentus*, but *voculatio* again seems to imply modulation of the voice. From these and other circumstances Dr. Forster long ago concluded, that the accent of the ancients was a musical inflexion of the voice, of which no trace remains in the usage of modern languages; distinct from emphasis, which is the accent of the moderns, and not affecting the quantity of syllables, which it is certain it did not. This was lost in the ancient languages themselves at their decline, and, through ignorance, confounded with emphasis, as it frequently is at present. After all, this is only a conjecture, which we know not how to exemplify. The Chinese, however, it is certain, have such accents to this day, by which even monosyllables of identical form are distinguished.

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tiunculas, or *vocationes*." And that inaccuracy of speech, which we call barbarous, they called "rustic," and they who spoke with this defect were by them said to speak as rustics. Publius Nigidius, in his Grammatical Commentaries, says, "If you use the aspirate falsely, your discourse becomes rustic." I do not indeed find, that they who spoke with purity and propriety, before the age of Augustus, ever used that word which we have in common, "*barbarismus*."

* *Barbarismus*.]—The books ad Herennium are now allowed not to be the works of Cicero; among the arguments by which this was proved, in contradiction to many great authorities, was the use of words not received in the age of Cicero. In this number, if we suppose Gellius not to be mistaken, we may place the word *barbarismus*: for in the fourth book we find this passage, "Vitia in sermone, quæ minus is Latinus sit, duo possunt esse: solæcismus, et *barbarismus*. Solæcismus est, cum in verbis pluribus consequens verbum superiori non accommodatur. *Barbarismus* est, cum verbum aliquod vitiosè offertur." Chap. 12. Gellius seems to confine *barbarism* to false aspiration, the species of rusticity which Catullus ridiculed in Arrius.

Commoda dicebat si quando *commoda* vellet
Dicere, et *insidias* Arrius *insidias*.
Et tum mirifice sperabat se esse locutum,
Cum quantum poterat dixerat *insidias*, &c.

It should be observed, that in this chapter there is no mention of the Attics, which the argument gives the reader occasion to expect. Whether the Attics used the term βαρβαρισμος, may be perhaps a matter of doubt, but certain it is, that they used the verb βαρβαρίζω, *barbare loqui*, to speak rudely, as they did ἀττικίζω, to speak well, or like the Attics.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Homér in his poem, and Herodotus in his history, have spoken very differently concerning the lion.

HERODOTUS has left it recorded, in his third book, that lionesses produce but once in their life, and at that birth never more than one^a whelp. These are his words :

^a *Never more than one.*]—Goldsmith, in his history of the lion, gives the report of the keeper of the beasts in the Tower of London, where several of these animals have bred. According to him, the lioness goes only five months with young, “and produces never more than two at once.” But the keeper could only speak according to his knowledge of what happened there, which agrees sufficiently with the report of Aristotle, that the number is usually two. Mr. Pennant is silent on this part of the subject, in his History of Quadrupeds; but he copies, from the author of the “*Economy of Nature*,” an account of the instinct of these and other wild beasts, in the thirsty deserts of Africa, that exceeds all belief, and certainly could not easily be known or verified by observation. “There the pelican makes her nest, and in order to cool her young ones, and accustom them to an element they must all be conversant in, brings from afar, in her great gular pouch, sufficient water to fill the nest; the lion and other wild beasts approach, quench their thirst, yet never injure the unfledged birds, as if conscious that their destruction would immediately put a stop to those grateful supplies. Nature is full of wonders; but writers on the history of quadrupeds have been careful not to make it less so than it is.”

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“ The lioness, of all animals the strongest and the boldest, produces but one young one in her life, for at the birth of her young she loses her matrix.”

But Homer says, that lions (for so he calls the females, in the masculine gender, or, as the grammarians have it, the common) produce and bring up many whelps ; these are the lines in which he plainly asserts this :

Thus in the center of some gloomy wood,
With many a step, the lioness surrounds
Her tawny young, beset by men and hounds.

He says the same thing in another place :

The lion thus, with dreadful anguish stung,
Roars through the desert and demands his
young,
When the grim savage to his rifled den
Too late returning snuffs the track of men.

When this difference and opposition of sentiments between the most celebrated poet and most eminent historian greatly perplexed me, I thought proper to consult Aristotle's exquisite Treatise upon Animals, and whatever he has there written upon this subject, I have put down in these commentaries. His words are, from book 6. “ That the lion copulates backwards, and is retromingent, has been mentioned before. But it copulates and produces not in every season, though in every year. It produces in the spring, and
generally

generally has two. When its produce is most numerous it has six, but sometimes it has only one. It is an idle story which tells us of the lioness, that when she produces her young, she loses the future power of generating, and it arises from the scarcity of the lion's race, for the breed is rare, and not known in many places, except in that part of Europe which is between the river Achelous and Nessus. The lioness produces her young so small, that they scarcely begin to walk till they are two months old. The lions of Syria breed five times in their life, the first time having five young ones, afterwards fewer; then they become barren. The female has no mane; this is peculiar to the male. The lion only changes those four teeth which are called 'canine,' two upper and two lower, and this happens at six months old²."

² As to the fact related in the beginning of this chapter, it is wonderful that they should not see, according to this idea, the necessity of a speedy destruction of the species; because, as every pair left but one cub, every generation would, of course, even on the favourable supposition of the males and females being equal, only be half as numerous as the preceding.

CHAP. VIII.

*The poet Afranius has ingeniously and pleasantly represented Wisdom to be the daughter of Use and Memory.*¹

WITH great justice the poet Afranius, when writing upon the birth of Wisdom, has considered her as the daughter of "Use and Memory." By the argument he uses, it is proved, that he who would become skilful in

¹ Quintus Carolus, one of the commentators upon Gellius, takes prodigious pains to satisfy the reader that this genealogy is inaccurate and inadmissible; it is absurd, he remarks, to call Wisdom the daughter of Use and Memory; the daughter of Use and Memory can be Prudence, and no other. The allegory of Afranius will not be thought the less ingenious or agreeable for this critic's observation. H. Stephens, in his edition of Gellius, has a very long chapter to explain some perplexed passages which here occur, and the reader may have advantage from consulting the place. P. 110.

It may properly be observed in this place, that the ancients, and after them the moderns, were very fond of this sort of allegory. Pindar beautifully calls the day the child of the sun, *ἡλίου παῖδα*. The same writer calls the rain the offspring of the clouds. It were endless to multiply similar examples, which must occur to every one at all conversant with the best writers. See on this subject Gataker, p. 103.

human

human affairs, should not confine himself to books, and the practice of rhetorical and logical disputations; but he must be conversant, and personally exercised in occurrences and business of life, and carefully fix in his memory all actions and their consequences: he must moreover, to grow wise, learn what experience teaches, not what books only, or masters, by an idle parade of words and fictitious representations, have invented for the purposes of amusement, as in a play, or in a dream. Afranius's verses are in his play called "Sella."

"Ufus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria;
Σοφίαν vocant me Graii, vos Sapientiam."

There is likewise a line to the same purpose in Pacuvius, which the philosopher Macedo, a man of integrity, and my intimate friend, thought worthy of being inscribed on the doors of all our temples,

Ego odi (homines) ignava opera et philosopha sententia.

For nothing, said he, can be more disgraceful or intolerable, than that idle and lazy people, covered with a long beard^{*} and a mantle, should change

^{*} *Long beard.*]—Such were those against whom Juvenal discharged his indignation in his second satire.

Qui Curios simulant, et Bacchanalia vivunt.

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change the habits and advantages of philosophy into a knowledge of the tricks of words, and censure with such eloquence those vices, in the practice of which they are so thoroughly engaged.

Whose affected garb and manners he so contemptuously points out.

Rarus sermo illis, et magna libido tacendi,
Atque supercilio brevior coma.

These false pretenders to morality and philosophical austerity, who secretly indulged themselves in all kinds of vice, are very strongly exposed and reprobated by Lucian, Alciphron, and other satirical writers among the Greeks.

CHAP. IX.*

*What Tullius Tiro wrote in his Commentaries on the
Siculæ and Hyadæ, names of stars.*

TULLIUS TIRO was the scholar and freedman of Marcus Cicero, and was his assistant in literary pursuits. He has written many books upon the usage and formation of the Latin language, and upon different and promiscuous subjects. In those books, the treatises most distinguished are what he has called by a Greek title, *πανδικτας*, as if containing every kind of literary circumstance. He therein speaks thus of those stars which are called *siculæ*. "So ignorant were the ancient Romans of Greek literature, and of the Greek language, that those stars which are in the head of Taurus they called "*siculæ*," because the Greeks call them "*υαδας*." But *υαδας*," says he, "is derived not *απο των υων*, as

* Gellius, in this chapter, which is usually the case when he meddles with etymology, makes but an indifferent appearance. He does not so much defend the ancient Latins as prove his own want of sagacity and judgment. How could *siculas* be made from *syades*? Cicero himself acknowledged the mistake as well as Tiro. Speaking of the same stars, he says, *nostri imperiti siculas quasi a suis essent non ab imbris nominatae*. De Nat. Deorum.

Consult also Pliny, Nat. Hist. 28. b. 26. c.

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our blockheads imagine, but from the word *ὕειν*. For when they rise and fall, they stir up storms, showers, and abundance of rain, and *ὕειν* signifies to rain." Thus far Tiro, in his *Pandectæ*. But, however, our forefathers were not such blockheads and rustics as to call the hyades² *fulculas*, because *ὕς* in Latin means *fues*. But for the same reason that the Greek word "*ὑπερ*" we translate "*super*," *ὑπτιος*, *supinus*, from their *ὑπορεος* we have *subulcus*; nay, from their

* *Hyades*.]—Some authors derive *Hyades*, not from *ὕειν*, but from *Hyas*, the son of *Atlas* and *Æthra*, who being killed by a lion in the prime of life, was so lamented by his seven sisters, that they died weeping, and were changed into these watery stars. Ovid briefly relates this story, and concludes thus:

Mater Hyan, et Hyan mœstæ flevere sorores,

Cervicemque polo suppositurus Atlas.

Victus uterque parens, tamen est pietate sororum,

Illa dedit cœlum, nomina fecit Hyas.

Fasti, v. 178.

Hyginus, who gives the same account more explicitly, supplies also another etymology, "*quidam aiunt in modum Υ literæ positas, inde Hyadas dici.*" *Some say that they were called Hyades from being placed in the form of the letter Upsilon.* *Hyginus*, *Fab.* 192. Of all the derivations, that from *ὕειν*, to rain, is the best, and Ovid himself gives it, before he relates the fable.

Navita quas Hyadas Graius ab imbre vocat,

Hence their constant epithets are wet, moist, rainy, and the like. *Valerius Flaccus* used a periphrasis of this signification instead of their name.

Pleiades, et madidis rorantes crinibus ignem.

word

word ὕπνος we get at first sypnus, and then by the relationship of the Greek y to the Latin o, somnus. So from their ὑαδες, are called by us first the Syades, and then the Suculæ. But those stars are not, as Tiro says, in the head of Taurus, for there appears to be no head of Taurus except those stars. But they are so situated in that circle which is called the zodiac, that their figure and appearance presents the form of the bull's head, as the other part, and the whole representation of the bull, is formed, and as it were depicted, by the stations and bearings of those stars which the Greeks call πλειαδας, and we vergilias.

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CHAP. X.

*The etymology of soror, according to Labeo Antistius,
and of frater, according to Nigidius.*

LABEO ANTISTIUS cultivated with particular attention the study of the civil law, and gave information publicly to those who consulted him upon legal questions. Moreover, he was skilled in polite literature, and had proceeded deeply in the study of grammar, logic, antiquity, and more abstruse learning. He was well versed in the origin and formation of Latin words, and particularly applied that knowledge to the solution of knotty and intricate points of law. After his death there were accordingly published certain books entitled *Posteriores*, three of which successively, namely, the 38th, 39th, and 40th, are full of that kind of information which tends to explain and illustrate the Latin language. And in those books which he wrote upon the prætor's edict, he has noted many observations, some of which are wittily and ingeniously imagined, as for instance that which we find in his fourth book, "She is called *soror* ¹,"
says

¹ *Soror*.]—This etymology does not appear very probable, yet it is difficult to find a better, the origin of this word

says he, "because she is quasi *seorsum* nata, because she is separated from the family in which she was born, and passes over to another." Of the word *Frater*², Publius Nigidius, a man of great learning, gives the etymology in a manner no less ingenious and subtle. "*Frater*," says he, "is *quasi ferè alter*."

word being very obscure. Vossius is desirous to derive it from *fero*, to plant, and mentions also an Hebrew etymology, with which he seems much pleased; but it is difficult to give assent to any of these conjectures.

² *Frater*.]—There can be little doubt that the real derivation of *frater* is from the Greek word *φρατρ* or *φρατρ*, meaning one of the same tribe. Yet Cicero seems to have admitted the same etymology as that assigned by Nigidius, when he says, in one of his familiar epistles, that "when he left his province, he had deputed by preference any other person, rather than his brother Quintus, to wait for the arrival of his successor, lest if he had left his brother he might seem to have eluded the decree of the senate, by which he was commanded to depart within a certain number of days; since it might be said that he had not wholly departed, but had left *another self* to govern for him." "*Sed altero se relicto, discessisset.*" *Epist. Fam. ii. 15.* This, however, does not absolutely prove that Cicero had such a derivation in his mind, for any near relation might be called *another self*, in a political light, as likely to proceed exactly with the same views, without any further reference.

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CHAP. XI.

*The just and proper number of guests, according to M. Varro,—Of the second course; of delicacies.**

THAT is a most elegant treatise of Marcus Varro's, which is entitled, "You know not what the Close of the Day may produce," in which he descants upon the proper number of guests, and of the custom and management of the entertainment itself. He says that the number of the guests should begin with that of

* Of the satires of Varro I have spoken in another place. The reader will find the introduction to this chapter by Gellius, almost word for word in Macrobius, Saturn. l. 1. c. 7. Macrobius omits *ferus*, and gives the title thus, *Nescis quid vesper vehat*. Not unlike this is the saying of Seneca, at least it involves a similar moral,—

Quem dies vidit veniens superbum,
Hunc dies vidit veniens jacentem.

The expression occurs in Virgil, *Ge. i. l. 460*.

Denique quid vesper *ferus* vehat, &c

Such also is the scripture phrase of "Who knows what a day may bring forth?"

the

the Graces, and finish with that of the Muses², that is, it should consist of no less than three at the fewest, and of no more than nine, when most numerous. "It is disagreeable," says he, "to have many, because a crowd is turbulent, and indeed at Rome it is so, and the same at Athens, where never more were assembled. The entertainment itself is composed of four circumstances, and is then quite complete, namely, if the men are elegant, if the place, and time be well chosen, and the apparatus of the feast not neglected. You should neither choose talkative guests," says he, "nor mute ones. For haranguing is for the forum and the courts; and silence should prevail, not in an entertainment but in the bed-chamber." The subjects of conversation,

* *Muses.*]—This was a favourite idea with the ancients, and occurs in various forms in their best writers. A striking passage of this kind occurs in Plautus,—

Vin' ad te ad cœnam veniam
 Ep. Si possum velim,
 Verum hic apud me cœnant alieni novem.
 Say, shall I sup with you?
 Ep. You should if possible,
 But I have nine to sup with me already.

Unless it were on some public occasion, the number of triclinia, or couches, prepared at an entertainment did not exceed three, and as three persons occupied each couch, this made the number of the whole not exceed nine. See Juvenal, Sat. 3.

Tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto.

he

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he thinks, should not be anxious or perplexing, but should be discussed with pleasantry, and without study, and so far profitable as to delight, and at the same time improve the understanding. This must necessarily be the consequence, if we confine ourselves to the common concerns and occurrences of life, which, in the active pursuits of business we have no leisure to discuss. "As to the master of the feast," says he, "it is necessary not so much that he should be a man of elegance, as that he should be free from vulgarity, and during the entertainment, it is not every thing that should be read, but such things only as are at the same time useful and delightful." Nor has he omitted to speak of the necessary ornaments of the second course³. His words are these: "Those delicacies are the sweetest which are not sweet to excess; for there is a kind of war betwixt delicacies and the powers of digestion." Let no one hesitate as to the meaning of the

³ *Second course,*]—The contents of the second course, among the Romans, comprehended every thing which is met with in our desserts; nuts, figs, olives, apples, pears, &c. with every kind of confectionary.

The distinction betwixt the *pemma* and *tragema*, which words occur in the conclusion of this chapter, seems to have been this; the *pemma* was a prepared sweetmeat, *tragema* was the simply dried fruit, as for example, raisins. See on this subject *Salmasius ad Solin. p. 1325*.

Pemma compositum quid et coctum, tragema simplex et sic siccatum, ut uvæ passæ, caricæ, palmulæ, et similia.

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 31

word (*bellaria*) delicacies, which Marcus Varro uses upon this occasion, for it includes every thing which appertains to the second course. What the Greeks called *τραγηματα* or *πιμματα*, our older writers called *bellaria*. We likewise find the sweeter kinds of wine called in the old comedies by this name, where they are said to be *Liberi bellaria*, the delicacies of Bacchus.

CHAP. XII.

*The tribunes might arrest, but could not summon any one.**

WE read it recorded in a certain letter of Atteius Capito, that Labeo Antistius was particularly distinguished by his knowledge in the laws, customs, and civil courts of the Roman people. But a certain degree of wilful obstinacy,

* The *imperium* or authority of the Roman magistrates comprehended the right of issuing edicts, of personal arrests, and of citing to appear. We learn from this chapter that these rights did not belong to the same officer, and that the power of citing to appear was of a higher nature than that of personal arrest. See Heineccius, 578.

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he observes, misled the man, insomuch that when Cæsar Augustus became emperor, he did not allow the justice or propriety of any act, which he could not find sanctioned by the ancient usages of the Romans. He then relates what this same Labeo (when summoned by a messenger from the tribune of the people) answered: "When," says he, "at the instigation of a certain woman, the tribunes of the people sent Gellianus to him, desiring that he would appear and answer to the woman's complaint, he ordered him who had been sent, to return, and tell the tribunes, that they had no right either to summon him or any one else. That by the custom of our ancestors, the tribunes of the people had a right of arresting but not of summoning any one; that they might therefore come and order him to be seized, but had no right to summon him when absent." Having read this in Capito's letter, I found the same thing afterwards spoken of more at large in the 21st book of Varro's "*Res humanæ*," whose words upon the subject I have transcribed: "In the magistracy," says he, "some have the power of summoning, some of arresting, others can do neither. The power of summoning belongs to the consuls, and others of high authority, that of arrest to the tribunes of the people, and those officers who are attended by a messenger²; but the

² *Messenger.*]—Viator. I have mentioned this officer before, but probably, from this chapter, there were viatores or messengers

the quæstors and others, who have neither a lic-
tor nor a messenger, have neither power to sum-
mon, nor to arrest. They who have the right
of summoning, are also able by law to seize,
confine, and carry away, and this whether the
persons are present, or are cited by their com-
mand. The tribunes of the people have no
right of summoning. Nevertheless, many igno-
rant persons have used this authority, as if they
were entitled to it³. For some have ordered,
not only a private individual, but a consul, to be
summoned to the forum. I myself, one of the
triumvirs, being summoned by Portius, a tribune
of the people, did not appear: depending upon
the authority of established custom, I claimed
this ancient privilege; and when a tribune myself;

messengers of different ranks, the principal of which were
those who attended immediately upon the senate, and sum-
moned the members from the country to attend the public
business in the senate.

³ *Entitled to it.*]—Speaking on the usurpation of the tri-
bunes, Bever, on the Legal Polity of the Roman State, has
this strong and pertinent remark—

“As far as the tribunitian office contributed to protect
the poor from the oppression of the rich, and to keep the se-
veral constituent powers of the state within their just limits;
it was certainly of singular use in the political system, and
deserved the warmest zeal and support of every generous friend
to rational liberty. But when it transgressed its original
bounds, and assumed prerogatives incongruous with the na-
ture and design of its first appointment, it then became a
scourge and a nuisance to the whole commonwealth.

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I ordered no man to be summoned before me, nor to obey the summons of my colleague, unless he thought proper." As to this right, of which Marcus Varro speaks, I am of opinion that Labeo, when a private man, acted with an idle sort of confidence, in not appearing to the summons of the tribune. For what could be the reason for being unwilling to obey the summons of those, whom you allow to have the power of arresting you? For he who by law may be seized, may also be imprisoned. But while we are enquiring why the tribunes, who have a power of using coercive measures, have not the power of summoning, it occurs to recollection, that tribunes of the people appear to have been formerly created, not for the purpose of passing sentence, nor for taking cognisance of causes and complaints where the parties were absent, but by their presence, in causes, to take care that injustice be banished from their courts. Therefore the right of summoning was taken from them, because their office was to prevent, by their attention and presence, all acts of violence.

CHAP. XIII.

In M. Varro's books of human things it is affirmed, that the ædiles and quæstors of the Roman people might be cited before the prætor by a private person.

WHEN I first made my appearance in public, from the retirement of books and teachers, I remember it was the subject of enquiry among the public disputants and respondents, in every part of Rome¹; whether a quæstor of the Roman people could be summoned to appear before the prætor. Not did this arise from an idle spirit of disputation merely; but a circumstance actually occurred, wherein a quæstor was to be summoned. Not a few were of opinion, that the prætor had no right to summon him, as he was without doubt a magistrate of the Roman people, and neither could he be summoned to appear, unless he thought proper, nor be ta-

¹ *Part of Rome.*]—Romæ stationibus. Philosophers, declaimers, and disputants were to be met in various parts of Rome; in the forum, under porticoes, haranguing a listening multitude. Pliny has the same expression in his Epistles: Plerique in stationibus sedent, tempusque audiendo fabulas terunt. We might say familiarly, when people in almost every street were disputing, &c.

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ken and arrested, without injuring the dignity of the Roman magistracy. But I, who was at that time accurately read in the treatises of Marcus Varro, when I found this a matter of doubt and enquiry, produced his twenty-first book of "*Res humanæ*," in which it is thus mentioned: "It is lawful for those magistrates, who have no power of summoning or of arresting, to be themselves summoned by a private man to appear in court. Marcus Lævinus, a *curule ædile*², was summoned before the prætor by a private man; now, surrounded by public officers, they not only cannot be arrested, but may even dismiss the people." Thus far Varro in that part of his book which treats of the *ædiles*; but in a former part of the same treatise he says, that the *quæstor* has neither the right of summons, nor of arrest. Each part of the book being referred to, all came over to Varro's opinion, and the *quæstor* was summoned before the prætor.

* *Curule ædile.*]—The *quæstor* was a magistrate inferior to the *ædile*, and this was the first office which any candidate for Roman honours could obtain. Their business was to collect the public revenues.

CHAP. XIV.

Meaning of the term pomœrium.*

THE Roman augurs who wrote upon the auspices, have thus defined the word "pomœrium." "*Pomœrium* est locus intra agrum effatum per totius urbis circuitum, pone muros, regionibus certis determinatus, qui facit finem urbani auspicii." But the most ancient *pomœrium*, which was instituted by Romulus, was terminated by the foot of Mount Palatine. But that

* *Pomœrium.*]—The ancients were remarkably superstitious with respect to their mode of building cities, and had a number of preposterous ceremonies. This of the *pomœrium* may be reckoned among them. When a city was built, a certain space of ground was left both within and without the walls, upon which it was deemed impious to erect any edifices; indeed it was considered as holy ground. The *pomœrium* of Rome was increased with the city and the empire, and it seems a little singular, that Julius Cæsar alone should not avail himself of the privilege which his conquests gave him of contributing to its enlargement. The following passage from Tacitus is sufficiently explicit on this subject:

Quamquam magnis nationibus subactis, jus proferendi *pomœrii* usurparint nisi L. Sylla et Divus Augustus.

On this Donatus remarks, Taciti auctoritatem et Gellii, qui idem scripsit, pluri facio.

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pomærium was at different times extended as the republic encreased, and at length included many, and those too lofty hills. He had a right to extend the *pomærium*, who had increased the territories of the Romans, by taking land from the enemy. Wherefore it has been, and continues now to be a subject of enquiry, why, out of the seven hills of the city, as there are six within the *pomærium*, the Aventine hill alone, which is neither far distant nor unfrequented, should be without the boundary of the *pomærium*. For neither did king Servius Tullius, nor Sylla, who had the privilege of extending the *pomærium*, nor afterwards Julius Cæsar, when he enlarged it, include this hill within the expressed limits² of the city. Messala has assigned some probable reasons for this, one of which, in preference to the rest, he himself approves, namely, that when Remus upon that hill consulted the auspices on his intention of building the city, he found the flight of birds unpropitious, and was less fortunate in his omen than Romulus. Therefore, says he, all those who extended the *pomærium*

² *Expressed limits.*]—*Effatus fines.* *Effatus* seems to be a word not very easy of explanation. Here it is undoubtedly to be considered as a term in augury, in which sense it frequently occurs in Cicero. See 42d E. of 13th Book to Atticus, *Opinor augures nihil habere ad templum effandum.* But Cicero also uses *effatum* as a term in logic, or rather for one of the axioms of the academy.

excluded

excluded that hill, as if it were frequented by ill-omened birds. But I must not pass over something which I lately met with, concerning the Aventine hill, in the commentary of Elis, an old grammarian, in which it is recorded, that, as we said before, it was formerly excluded from the *pomærium*, but it was afterwards, upon the authority of Claudius Cæsar, received into the boundaries, and considered as *intra-pomærian*.

CHAP. XV.*

Passage from Messala the augur, ascertaining who are the inferior magistrates.—That the consul and prætor are colleagues.—Observations on the auspices.—Opinion of the same Messala on the terms ad populum loqui, and cum populo agere.—Who the magistrates are that may dismiss the comitia.

IN the consular edict which appoints the day for the *comitia* centuriata, this form has been from time immemorial observed, “Ne quis² magistratus minor de cælo servasse velit.”

* There is a perplexity in this chapter which would not be easily explained without the assistance of H. Stephens.

What in this edition is one, was in former editions divided into two chapters, having two distinct titles. The present title is erroneous, and ought to be corrected. Messala gives no opinion upon the terms *ad populum loqui*, and *cum populo agere*. It is the remark of Gellius himself, and a conclusion which he draws from the quotation which he has just cited from the works of Messala.

² *Ne quis.*]—Let no inferior magistrate presume to take the auspices.

The terms used, and ceremonies observed in taking the auspices may be found in Adams, Kennet, Lempriere, or any of the books which treat on Roman customs and antiquities.

It

It has frequently been disputed, who are the "*magistratus minores*." Upon which subject there is no occasion for my opinion, as the first book of Marcus Messala, the augur, "on Auspices," is at hand, while I am writing, and therefore I subjoin from thence the words of Messala himself. "The auspices of the patricians are divided into two parts; the highest are those of the consuls, the prætors, the censors. But these are not all alike, or of equal power, because the censors are not the colleagues of the consul, or the prætors, but the prætors are the colleagues of the consuls. So that neither do the consuls nor the prætors interrupt or prevent the auspices from the censors, nor the censors from the consuls and prætors, but the censors among themselves can ratify them or not, and the prætors and consuls may do the same. A prætor, although he be the colleague of the consul, cannot by law cite either prætor or consul, as we learn from our forefathers, and which has been observed till now; it appears also in the 13th commentary of Caius Tuditanus; because the prætor is invested with an inferior, the consul with a superior authority. A superior magistrate cannot be cited by one of inferior authority. At this period, we who have been prætors have followed ancient custom in every thing which regards the prætor's elections, nor at those comitia was it usual to take the auspices. In like manner, the censors are not consulted upon the auspices with the consuls and prætors.

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prætors. The lesser auspices belong to the other magistrates. Therefore these are called the lesser, the other the higher magistrates. In electing the lesser magistrates, the office was conferred by the people voting in tribes, or more properly by the *lex curiata*; the higher magistrates were appointed at the *centuriata comitia*." From this whole passage of Messala it is plain who were the lesser magistrates, and why they were so called; it proves likewise, that the prætor was the colleague of the consul, because they are elected under the same auspices. But they are said to hold the greater auspices, because their auspices are of higher estimation than those of others. The same Messala, in the same book, upon the lesser magistrates, says, "The consul has the power to dismiss any assembly of the people, though summoned by any other magistrates. The prætor can at any time dismiss an assembly, unless called by the consul. The lesser magistrates cannot dismiss an assembly. On this occasion, he who first summons the *comitia* has the law on his side, because the people cannot be dealt with in a double manner; nor, if they wish to have a meeting, can any one dismiss the other's assembly to prevent the people's being consulted. Yet many magistrates may hold a meeting at the same time." This passage of Messala shews that the term "*cum populo agere*" differs from "*concionem habere*." The former means to collect by votes the assent
or

or dissent of the people upon any question, the latter to address them without any application for their votes.

CHAP. XVI.

*Humanitas has not the signification usually given it.—
They who have spoken most purely have used it
in a more appropriate sense.**

THEY who are accustomed to observe the proprieties of the Latin language do not interpret the word “humanitas” according to the common acceptation, and as the Greeks call it *φιλανθρωπια* (philanthropy), signifying a certain

* In this classical sense also is the word *humanity* frequently used by our best writers, and a professor of humanity is understood to be synonymous with professor of belles lettres. Milton uses the adjective *humane* in the sense of polished,—

On the other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and *humane*.

A passage, similar to the one here quoted, from Varro, being now before me, I subjoin it. Varro de Re Rustic. l. 1. c. 17.

Qui præfint esse oportere, qui literis sint atque *humanitate* imbuti.

Upon which Scaliger remarks, *Illud literis est glossema, nam literæ et humanitas apud veteres idem est.*

ready

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ready benevolence indiscriminately exercised toward all men; but they consider humanity as what the Greeks call παιδείαν, and what we term instruction and initiation in the liberal arts, which they who earnestly follow and obtain, may be said to be most humanized. For the pursuit and discipline of science is given to man only of all the animals, therefore it is called "humanitas." And in this sense almost all books shew that the ancients used this word, and particularly Marcus Varro, and Marcus Tullius. In the mean time I have thought proper to produce an instance from Varro's first book of his "res humanæ," which begins thus: "Praxiteles, who, on account of the excellence of his art, is known to every one at all versed in polite science ("paulum modo *humaniori*.") *Humaniori*, says he, does not signify, as we commonly use it, mild, tender, benevolent, although ignorant of literature, for this does not agree with the sentiment; but it means, a man of any literary attainments must have known the character of Praxiteles from books and history.

CHAP. XVII.

*Meaning of the words inter os et offam, in M. Cato.**

THERE is a speech of Marcus Cato, in which he censures the election of ædiles without the auspices. In that speech are these words: “Nunc ita aiunt, in segetibus et in herbis bona frumenta esse, nolite ibi nimiam spem habere. Sæpe audiui inter os atque offam multa intervenire posse. Verum vero inter offam at-

* There are many similar proverbs in Latin, all expressive of the same thing. Such are, multa cadunt inter calicem supremaque labra; nescis quid vesper ferus vehat; inter manum et mentum, &c. which may be explained by our familiar English proverb,—

There's many a slip
'Twixt cup and lip.

Long, but no very interesting comments, may be found on these several proverbs, in the Adagia of Erasmus. The first is a literal translation in Latin, from the Greek proverb at the end of this chapter, which is also to be found in Zenobius, Stobæus, and many other places. There are also French proverbs of like import:

De la main a la bouche se perd souvent la soupe.

Between the hand and the mouth the broth is often
spilled.

que

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que herbam ibi vero longum intervallum est." Now Erucius Clarus, who was præfect of the city, and twice consul, a man much devoted to the study of ancient customs and ancient literature, has written to Sulpitius Apollinaris, the most learned man within my memory, requesting that he would tell him the meaning of those words. Apollinaris, when I was present, (for being then a young man at Rome, I attached myself to him for the purpose of instruction) wrote word to Clarus, as to a man of learning, very concisely, that the phrase *inter os et offam* was an old proverb, signifying the same as the Greek sentence,

Πολλά μετὰ πύλαι κυλικὸς καὶ χεῖλος ἀκρε.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE following iambic verse is notoriously of great antiquity¹:

Σοφοὶ τυράννοι τῶν σοφῶν ξυνεσιγ.

This verse Plato, in his *Theætetus*², attributes to Euripides, at which I am much surprized, for I have met with it in Sophocles's tragedy of Ajax the Locrian³. But Sophocles was born before Euri-

¹ *Antiquity.*]—Some copies read *venustatis*, which seems more proper. The translation in this case would be of well known elegance.

² *Theætetus.*]—This is a strange error in Gellius. This Iambic is not in the *Theætetus* of Plato, but in the *Theages*; but whether the mistake originated from Gellius himself, or was the blunder of some copyist, is uncertain. See Gataker, 173. Stobæus does the same, and probably on the same authority. The meaning of the Greek verse is, Princes become wise by associating with wise men; the converse of our English saying, Evil communication corrupts good manners.

³ *Ajax the Locrian.*]—Cassaubon, in his notes to *Athenæus*, gives a catalogue of all the plays of Sophocles. This play he calls *Ἀίας Λοθρός*, or Ajax Lorarius. Probably there were two plays of Sophocles, one called Ajax Lorarius, the other Ajax Locrus. Aristides refers the line here quoted to the play of Sophocles called Ajax Locrus. See Cassaubon, 482. ad *Athenæum*.

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pides. There is likewise another verse not less known:

Γερων γεροντα παιδαγωγῶγησω σ' εγω.

This is found in Sophocles's tragedy called *Φυλητιδες*⁴, and in the *Bacchæ*⁵ of Euripides, and I have also met with it in the *Prometheus* of Æschylus. And in Euripides's tragedy of *Ino*, there is a verse which, except in a few syllables, is the same as one in Æschylus,—

⁴ *Φυλητιδες*.]—Here also would be some perplexity did not Casaubon assist us. In his annotations to Athenæus; referred to above, it clearly appears, that there was no play of Sophocles of this name, which indeed, as Casaubon observes, is not a Greek word. It is differently read by different commentators, some calling it *Philetides*, others *Philoctetes*, others *Philotides*. Casaubon says, the true reading is *Phthiotes*, or *Phthiotides*, and the whole of the chapter where this question is discussed is very entertaining and important.

⁵ *Bacchæ*.]—See the *Bacchæ*, verse 193.

The subject of this chapter leads me necessarily to observe, that similar sentiments, conveyed nearly in the same words, are to be found in various writers, ancient as well as modern. It is in particular true of Homer and Hesiod, of Phocylides and Theognis, of Seneca and Publius Syrus; of all which it may be remarked, in the words of Q. Carolus; Non temere judicandum est de hujusmodi lapsibus, cum sæpe eadem dicta, eademque verba in diversis auctoribus repariantur. Sive quod alter ab altero mutuatus sit, sive quod eadem diversis in mentem venerint.

Æschylus

Æschylus thus,

Σιγῶν θ' ὅπῃ δει, καὶ λέγων τὰ καιρία.

Thus Euripides,

Σιγᾶν θ' ὅπῃ δει, καὶ λέγειν ἀσφαλες.

But Æschylus was a much older writer.

CHAP. XIX.*

Of the origin and names of the Porcian family.

WHEN Apollinaris Sulpitius, myself, and certain other of our acquaintance were sitting together in the Tiberian library, it happened that a book was produced to us, entitled, "M. Catonis Nepotis." We immediately began to enquire who this Marcus Cato Nepos was, when a young man, who (as I conjectured from his

* Fulvius Urfinus has discussed at length the genealogy of the Porcian family. It appears from Plutarch and Tacitus, that the Porcian family was of Tuscan origin. See also Cicero, in his second book De Legibus:—Ego me, mehercule, et illi et omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo patrias, unam naturæ, alteram civitatis, ut ille Cato cum esset Tusculi natus in populi Romani civitatem susceptus est.—The founder of this family was Marcus Porcius Cato, who was first called Priscus, according to Plutarch, and the cognomen of Cato was retained by his posterity.

mode of speaking) was not destitute of literary attainments, replied, "This Marcus Cato is not called Nepos by a surname, but because he was the grandson of Marcus Cato the censor, who was the father of that Marcus Cato of prætorian rank, who, in the civil war, slew himself at Utica with his own sword; upon whose life there is a book of Marcus Cicero, entitled, "Laus Marci Catonis," in which book Cicero says, this Cato was the great grandson of Cato the censor. Of him, therefore, whom Cicero commends, this Marcus Cato was the father, whose orations bear the title of Marcus Cato Nepos." Then Apollinaris, with great delicacy and good humour (as was usual with him when he passed any censure) addressed him; "I commend," says he, "my young friend, your attention, who at such an age have been able to give us this lecture upon the family of Cato, although you are not accurate in your information concerning this Cato, about whom we are enquiring; for that Marcus Cato the censor had not one only, but many grand-children, from different fathers; for Marcus Cato, who was the orator and censor, had two sons from different mothers, and of very different ages; for when one of them was a young man, his mother being dead, and Cato himself much advanced in years, he took to wife the virgin daughter of Saloni-
 us his client, from whom was born to him Marcus Cato Salonianus, which surname
 was

was given him from Salonius, the father of his mother; but from the elder son of Cato, who, in the life-time of his father, died prætor-elect, and left some excellent books upon law subjects, sprung this Marcus Cato Nepos, the subject of our enquiry. He was a speaker of some energy, and left many specimens of oratory, in the manner of his grandfather. He was consul with Quintus Martius Rex, and in his consulate, visiting Africa, died in that province. This man was not the father of the prætorian Marcus Cato, who slew himself in Utica, and was the object of Cicero's eulogy; nor, although this was the grandson of Cato the censor, and the former his great-grandson, was the former the father of the latter; but this grandson, of whom we are speaking, had an elder son, Cato; not him who perished at Utica, but one who, having been curule ædile and prætor, died in Narbonensian Gaul; but from the other man, the much younger son of Cato the prætor, who, as we said before, was called Salonianus, sprung two sons, Lucius and Marcus Cato. That Marcus Cato was tribune of the people, and died when candidate for the prætorship. From him was born Marcus Cato, who slew himself in the civil war at Utica, of whom Marcus Cicero has said, when writing his life and panegyric, that he was the great-grandson of Cato the censor. You see, therefore, that this part of the family, which sprung from the younger son of Cato, not only

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differs in its branches but in its dates. For as that Salonianus was born, as I said, in the latter part of his father's life, so his descendants also were much posterior to those of his elder brother. You will easily discover this difference, from the evidence of the composition itself, when you read it." Sulpicius Apollinaris spoke this in my hearing, which I afterwards discovered to be true, when I read the funeral commendations, and the book of commentaries upon the Porcian family.

CHAP. XX.

*That among the most elegant writers greater attention has been paid to the modulation of words, called by the Greeks Euphonia, than to the rules and discipline of grammarians.**

PROBUS Valerius was asked, as I learned from one of his acquaintance, whether it was right to say *hanc urbis*, or *hanc urbes*, *hanc turrem*, or *hanc turrim*?

"Whether," replied he, "you are writing verse or prose, pay no respect to the musty rules of grammarians, but consult your ear what suits the passage; and what the ear recommends will surely be the best." "How," returned the enquirer, "should I consult my ear?" "In the same manner," answered Probus, "as Virgil did,

* The subjects discussed in this chapter must necessarily convince us, that we are able to form but an inadequate idea of the peculiar delicacies and elegance of the Latin tongue. It is not easy for us to imagine how *turrim*, for example, by whatever words preceded or accompanied, should be harsh to some ears and offensive to others; but, as I have before observed, all these and similar discriminations must have depended upon a variety of modulation, of which the most critical examination and knowledge of the Latin metrical compositions will not enable our most accomplished scholars to speak with any thing like decision.

E 3

who,

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who, in different places, has said *urbes* and *urbis*, according to the taste and judgment of his ear; for in the first of his Georgics, which," says he, "I have read, corrected by his own hand, he writes *urbis* with an *i*², as,

——*Urbisne* invisere Cæsar
Terrarumque velis curam.

Change it now to *urbes*, and you make it somehow more insipid and heavy. On the other hand, in the 3d Æneid, he has *urbes* with an *e*: "Centum *urbes* habitant magnas." If you change this to *urbis* the word becomes trifling and spiritless. Such is the difference of combination in the meeting of the following words. Besides, Virgil uses *turrim*, not *turrem*; and *securim*, not *securem*. "*Turrim* in præcipiti stantem;" and "incertam excussit cervice *securim*;"

* *With an i.*]—See Georg. i. 25. 26.

The various editions of Virgil read, some *urbis*, others *urbis*. Dryden, in his interpretation of this passage seems to have understood *urbis* to be the genitive case singular, and not the accusative case plural.

Whether in after times to be declared
The patron of the world, and Rome's peculiar guard.

Where he refers erroneously *urbis* to Rome.

There are some manuscripts which read *urbes*, but Heyne properly reads *urbis*, and thus expresses himself:

Sed *urbisne* auctoritate vet. grammaticorum confirmatur apud Gell. N. A. 13. 20. ubi Probus ait, auris judicio *urbis* prælatum esse a poeta pro *urbes*.

which

which words have, I think, a pleasanter sound than if you use the letter *e* in each place." But he who had consulted Probus, being a vulgar man, and of an unpolished ear, replied, "Why the different words should be more proper and accurate in one place than another I do not understand." When Probus, with some warmth, "Do not," says he, "trouble yourself to enquire which of the two you shall use, *urbes* or *urbis*, for since you are of that description which I observe, it is of no consequence which you say." With this observation, couched in these terms, he dismissed the man (as his custom was toward stupid people) with some degree of harshness. But I have since met with similar instances of a word written by Virgil in two different ways; for he has used *tris* and *tres* in the same passage, with that subtlety of judgment, that should you change them, and substitute one for the other, and have any ear, you must perceive that you injure the sweetness of the harmony. The lines are in his 10th book.

Tres quoque Threicios Boreæ de gente supremâ,
Et *tris* quos Idas pater, et patria Ismara mittit.

The usage of *tres* in one place³, and of *tris* in

³ *In one place.*]—Heyne, who justifies himself on the authority of Gellius in a former passage, disregards it here. In his edition we find *tris* in both lines. He refers indeed to this place in Gellius, but it is only to smile at the unimportance of the distinction.

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the other, you will find in either case used with so much judgment and attention to rhythm, as to be most admirably adapted to each situation. And in the same book of Virgil may be found,

Hæc finis ⁴ *Priami fatorum.*

Now if you were here to say, *bic finis*, it becomes harsh and inharmonious, and the ear shrinks from the change. As, on the contrary, you render the passage inharmonious, if you change the

Quem ⁵ *des finem rex magne laborem.*

For if you read it *quam* *des finem*, you make it, I know not why, harsh and feeble. Ennius also has called the cypresses *rectos*, by the masculine gender, contrary to common usage.

Capitibus nutanteis pinos, rectosque cupressos.

I suppose the sound appeared to him stronger and fuller to say *rectos* than *rectas*. On the other hand, the same Ennius, in his 18th book of Annals, uses *aere fulva*, instead of *fulvo*, not because Homer has applied a feminine adjective to it, as ἀἶρα Καθεῖαν, but because this sound, I suppose, seemed more vocal and grateful to his ear. As Cicero thought it softer and more elegant, in his speech against Verres, to say, *fretu* than *freto*.

* *Hæc finis.*]—Some manuscripts read *bic finis*. See Heyne, Vol. ii. London edition, p. 236.

* *Quem.*]—Heyne reads *quem*, and takes no notice of this observation of Gellius.

“ *Perangusto,*”

“*Perangusto*,” says he, “*fretu divisa*.” It would be harsh and cumsy to say *perangusto fretu*. He has used a familiar inflexion, in his second oration: Manifesto *peccatu*, says he, not *peccato*. For I have found the passage thus written in one or two of the oldest and most reputed copies of Tiro. Cicero’s words are these: “*Nemo ita vivebat, ut nulla ejus vitæ pars summæ turpitudinis esset expers; nemo ita in manifesto peccatu tenebatur, ut cum impudens fuisset in factu, tum impudentior videretur, si negaret.*” Not only the sound of this word is here more elegant, but the propriety of its usage is approved by reason and reflection. For here *peccatus* (an act of sin) is used properly for *peccatio* (the habit of sinning), as for instance, hic *incestus*, not applying to the *qui admisit*, but the *quod admissum est*, and *bic tributus*, which we call *tributum*, were phrases used by many of the ancients; and *bic collegatus*, and *bic arbitratus*, are used for *allegatio* and *arbitratio*; for which reason we say *arbitratu* and *allegatu meo*. Thus Cicero has said, in *manifesto peccatu*, as the ancients said in *manifesto incestu*. Nevertheless it would be Latin to say *peccato*, but in this passage it appeared more acute, and better suited to the ear: Lucretius, with the same attention to harmony, has applied a feminine adjective to *funem*, in the following lines:

Haud ut opinor enim mortalia secla supernè
Aurea de cœlo demisit funis in arva.

When,

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When, still preserving the metre, he might have said, what is indeed more usual,

Aureus e coelo demisit funis in arva.

Marcus Cicero has even called the priests by a feminine termination. He speaks of them as *antistitas*, and not, according to the law of grammar *antistites*. For although Cicero avoided the usage of obsolete and unaccustomed words, yet in this passage, as if delighted with the sound of the word, he says, "Sacerdotes Cereris atque illius fani *antistitæ*." So that upon some occasions they followed not so much the dictates of reason, or the law of custom, in the usage of words, as the judgment of the ear in regulating the modulation, which they who do not feel (says the same Cicero, when speaking upon harmony of style) I know not what ears they have, or indeed what there is in them like other men. The old grammarians have particularly noticed of Homer, that though in one place he has said *κολοιζες τε ψηρας τε*, yet in another he has used not *ψηρων* but *ψαρων*.

Των δ' ὥς τε ψαρων νεφὸς ἐρχεται ἢ κολουων.

Following not the common method, but what his attention to harmony of position suggested. For if you change the position of these words, you make the sentence inharmonious.

CHAP. XXI.

Words of Titus Castricius, the rhetorician, to his young pupils, on the impropriety of their clothes and shoes.

TITUS Castricius was a teacher of rhetoric, who was in the highest estimation at Rome for his oratorical abilities, and for his success as an instructor: he was respected^a also by the

^a *Respected.*]—Spectatus. A note on this word occurs in the British Critic for February 1793, so pertinent, that it would be absurd not to introduce it here. Spectatus answers to cognitus, exploratus, probatus, δοκιμασθης, misprinted in Forcellinus δοκιμασθης. Homo in rebus judicandis spectatus et cognitus. Cic. Orat. in Verrem, l. 2. In perfecto et spectato viro. De Amicitia, sect. 2. Utebatur medico ignobili sed spectato homini Cleophanto. Cic. pro Cluentio. Applied to things it answers to insignis, nobilis, pulcher. Aulus Gellius indeed, l. 13. c. 21. writes thus: T. Castricius, &c. &c. in mores atque literas spectatus. But we observe, first, that the style of Aulus Gellius is not famous for its purity, nor well adapted to panegyrick; secondly, that the phraseology of spectatus in mores is very singular; thirdly, that mores is joined with literas; fourthly, that Hadrian, the person approving, is mentioned as well as Castricius, the person approved; and lastly, that Castricius professed and practised the art of rhetoric, and therefore that his knowledge of that art could be ascertained. Upon the whole then, a person may be called spectatus for his moral qualities displayed in practice, for his skill in the exercise of arts,

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the emperor Adrian for the purity of his morals, and his attainments in literature. When I was once present with him (for I attended him as my master), he perceived some senators, his followers, with their cloaks and jackets, and walking in their slippers, on an holiday. "I would rather see you in your robes," said he; "it must at least be tedious to be girt up in your riding dresses. But if custom has made this mode of dress upon such a day pardonable, yet it is by no means decorous in you, as senators of Rome, to walk the streets with your slippers^a (*soleatos*), nor in-

arts, or his probity and judgment in the conduct of business, as brought to the test of experience. But for the mere acquisition, or the mere possession, or even the mere display of learning, no man, we believe, is styled *spectatus* by the pure writers of Latin. We shall just observe by the way, that Gesner refers, in his *Thesaurus*, to the 20th chapter of Aulus Gellius instead of the 21st, and indeed his numerical references are often erroneous. Gesner, however, is not to be blamed in this instance. The earlier editions of Gellius united the 14th and 15th in one chapter, which Stephens, Gronovius, and the later editions have divided into two. Gesner probably quoted from the Attics, or some other ancient edition.

^a *Slippers.*]—*Solea* was a slipper or sandal, so called, because it covered the sole of the foot. But the Romans wore a variety of coverings for the feet. The *soleæ* were of different kinds, and the *gallicæ* were a kind of *soleæ*, so were the *crepidæ*, or *crepidulæ*. They went to feasts in the *soleæ*, which may therefore be called a dress shoe, but they put them off when they eat. To appear in their *soleæ* in public was deemed unmanly and comical; and this seems all that is necessary to be said on this subject in this chapter.

deed is it less criminal in you than it was in him, whom Marcus Tullius reproved for it." Castricius said this in my hearing, and many other things to the same purport, with a Roman severity. Many, however, who heard him, begged to know why he called those persons *soleatos* who wore *gallicas* (slippers), not *soleas* (sandals). But Castricius had here spoken with purity and propriety. For that whole species of shoe, by which only the bottoms of the feet are covered, leaving the other part naked, and fastened with slight thongs, they called *soleæ*, and sometimes by the Greek word *crepidulæ*. But I suppose *gallicas* was a new word, which had not been used long before the time of Marcus Cicero. It is used by him in his second Philipic, "Cum gallicis et lacerâ cucurristi." Nor do I find this word used in this signification by any other writer of high authority; but, as I before observed, they called that sort of shoe (which the Greeks denominated *κρηπίδας*) *crepidas* and *crepidulas*, with the first syllable short, and the shoemakers they called *crepidarios*. Sempronius Asellio, in his fourteenth book of Annals, says, "Crepidarium cultellum rogavit a crepidario futuro."

CHAP. XXII.

Prayers which by the custom of the Romans are offered to their deities, as explained in the books of their priests; among which they give to Mars the title of Nerienes.—The meaning of the word Nerienes, or Nerio.

THE addresses which are offered to the immortal gods, according to the custom of the Romans, are found in the books of their priests, and in many of their ancient compositions. We there meet the phrases, "Luam Saturni," "Salaciam Neptuni," "Horam Quirini," "Jurites Quirini," "Maiam Volcani," "Herien Junonis," "Molas Martis," and "Nerienem Martis;" for so I hear people pronounce that

¹ *Luam Saturni.*]—I find these proper names thus explained in Turnebus, &c. For Luam, Turnebus proposes to read Laciam, a Latio, a name of Saturn.

Salacia is the same with Amphitrite, the wife of Neptune. Hora was the wife of Romulus. As Romulus was deified, so his wife, Herfilia, was received into the number of the gods, and called Hora, as Romulus was named Quirinus. For Jurites we should perhaps read Curites.—Curitis is a name of Juno, which appellation was given to different goddesses. Nereis is explained by the Greek words *νερεϊα θαλασσης*. The Molæ were said to be the daughters of Mars. See Turnebus *Adversar.* p. 366.

which

which I have last mentioned, making the first syllable of the word long, as the Greeks do in *Nηρηδες*, sea goddeffes. But they who speak with accuracy shorten the first syllable, and make the third long. For the nominative case of the word, in old books, is Nerio, although Marcus Varro, in his satire called *στιαμαχια* says, in the vocative case, not Nerio but Nerienes, in the following lines:

Sed Anna, Perenna, Panda, te Lato, Pales,
Nerienes, et Minerva, Fortuna, ac Ceres.

Where it was necessary that the same vocative case should be used. But Nerio is declined like Anio, and as they said Anienem, so Nerienem, with the third syllable long; but whether it be Nerio, or Nerienes, it is a Sabine word, and signifies courage* and fortitude. So from the Claudian family, which we know sprung from the Sabines, he who was distinguished by his fortitude was called Nero. But this the Sabines seem to have derived from the Greeks, who called the sinews and ligaments of the limbs *νευρα*, whence we call them in Latin nervos. Nerio therefore signifies warlike power and strength, and a cer-

* *Courage.*]—See Suetonius de Tiberio.

Inter cognomina autem et Neronis assumpsit, quo significatur lingua Sabinorum fortis et strenuus. Among his other names he took that of Nero, which, in the Sabine tongue, signifies bold and valiant.

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tain martial dignity. Plautus too³, in *Truculento*, calls *Nerienne* the wife of *Mars*, and in the character of a soldier, in this line,

*Mars peregre adveniēns salutat Nerienem
uxorem suam.*

I have heard a man of some note observe upon this passage, that *Plautus* has, with too much refinement, put this false and new sentiment into the mouth of an ignorant and unpolished soldier, to make him suppose *Nerio* the wife of *Mars*. But he who will peruse the third of *Cnæus Gellius's Annals*, will find that this passage possesses more of acuteness than comic humour. There it is said, that *Herfilia*, when she pleaded before *Titus Tatius*, and besought peace, thus expressed herself, "*Neria Martis, te obsecro, pacem dare, ut liceat nuptiis propriis et prosperis uti, quod de tui conjugis consilio contigit, ut nos itidem integras raperent, unde liberos sibi et suis posteris patria pararent.*" Here he says "*de tui conjugis consilio,*" alluding to *Mars*. By which it appears, that this was not said by *Plautus* poetically only, but that *Nerio* was traditionally considered by some as the wife of *Mars*. But we must take notice, that *Gellius* calls her *Neria*, not *Nerio*, nor *Nerienes*. Besides *Plautus*, how-

³ *Plautus too.*]—In his play called *Truculentus*, anglice, *The Churl*. The passage may be thus rendered,—

The god of war, returning from abroad,
Salutes his wife *Nerienne*.

ever, and Gellius, Licinius Imbrex, an old writer of comedy, in his play called *Neæra*, speaks thus :

Nolo⁴ ego Neæram te vocent, sed Nerienem,
Cum quidem Marti es in connubium data.

But such is the rhythm of this verse of six feet, that the third syllable in that word, contrary to the foregoing rule, must be made short ; but the sound of this, from the indifference which the ancients entertained upon the subject, is not worthy of much discussion. Ennius, in his 1st book, has,

Nerienem Mavortis et herclem.

And here indeed, preserving the metre, he has lengthened the first syllable, and made the third short, (which rarely occurs). Yet I must not omit what I find mentioned in a commentary of Servius Claudius⁵, that Nerio is said quasi Netrio, that

• *Nolo.*]—

As you are to be the wife of Mars, I do not
Choose you to be called *Neæra*, but *Neriene*.

Vossius intimates a doubt whether there was really a Latin poet of the name of Imbrex, or whether he may not be the same person elsewhere called Licinius Tegula; for Imbrex has the meaning of Tegula:—Imbrex fit incurvum genus tegulæ.

⁵ *Servius Claudius.*]—This personage is mentioned by Cicero and Pliny, and his name is preserved by Suetonius

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that is, without passion, with tranquillity, that under that title we might propitiate Mars, and make him tranquil. Ne is a privative particle, and as among the Greeks, is often so used in the Latin language.

in his catalogue of illustrious grammarians, where he is called Clodius, which is the same as Claudius. He was a Roman knight, and Suetonius observes, that he was one of those who *instruxerunt auxeruntque ab omni parte grammaticam, &c.*

CHAP. XXIII.

The very elegant reproof of Marcus Cato, of consular and censorian dignity, against those who are philosophers in name, and not in conduct.

MARCUS Cato, who had been consul and censor, when become rich from public emoluments, and in his private fortune, affirms that his country seats were unadorned, and in a rude state, even in his seventieth year, and he speaks of them in this manner: "I have neither building," says he, "nor plate, nor rich cloaths of any sort; I have neither expensive servants,

* The abuse of those who are philosophers in name but not in deed repeatedly occurs in ancient writers. What Cato here says of himself, and the rude appearance of his country seats, is expressed in almost similar terms by Plutarch. See this referred to in the 120th Epistle of Seneca.

Docebo quomodo fieri dives celerrime possis, quod valde cupis audire. Nec immerito, ad maximas te divitias compendiaro ducam. Opus tamen erit tibi creditore ut negotiari possis; æs alienum facias oportet; sed rolo per intercessorem mutueris, &c. &c. Paratum tibi creditorem dabo, Catonianum illud a te mutuum sumes. Quantulumcunque est, satis erit si quidquid deerit id a nobis petierimus. Nihil enim mi Lucili interest utrum non desideres, an habeas.

See also the remarks of H. Stephens on this subject and chapter.

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male or female. If there be any thing which I have occasion for, I use it, if not, I go without it." He then adds, " They censure me because I am without so many things; and I complain of them, that they cannot do without them." This simple truth of Cato's, saying that he could do without so many things, and wished for nothing, more excites us to the practice of moderation, and the support of poverty, than the boasts of those Greeks who profess to philosophize, and invent terms and vain shadows of words; who assert that they possess nothing, want nothing, desire nothing, and who are nevertheless inflamed with all the emotions of avarice and appetite.

CHAP. XXIV.

Meaning of the word Manubiæ'.—Observations on the propriety of using different words meaning the same thing.

IN the precincts of the forum of Trajan there are certain statues gilt on every side, representing horses and military trophies, and underneath them is written "*ex manubiis.*" Favorinus enquired, as he was walking in the area of the forum, waiting for the consul his friend, who was hearing causes from his tribunal; he enquired, I say, of us who were with him, what we supposed to be the meaning of that inscription. One of those present, a man of learning and celebrity, replied, that *ex manubiis* signified "*ex præda;*" and that the manubiæ were the spoils "*quæ manu captæ sunt.*" "Although (says Fa-

* Some derive this word *manubiæ*, which is used only in the plural number, from *manus*, hand, and *βια*, strength, that is, spoils taken forcibly from the enemy; but whatever may be the interpretation given of the word in this chapter, it is certain that in the earlier periods of the Roman republic, *manubiæ* was used to signify that portion of the spoils assigned to the commander in chief, and by him applied to the service of the state, or to religious purposes. See Gesner.

vorinus) my principal, and indeed almost my whole attention has been employed upon objects of Greek literature, yet I am not so inattentive to the Latin, which I occasionally and irregularly cultivate, as to be ignorant of this common interpretation, which explains *manubiæ* by *præda*. But I would ask whether Marcus Tullius, a most accurate observer of phraseology, in his speech upon the Agrarian law, on the calends of January, against Rullus, united, by an idle and inelegant repetition of terms, the two words *manubias* and *prædam*, if they signified the same thing, and did not differ in some particular." Such was the accuracy of Favorinus's memory, even to a miracle, that he instantly repeated the words of Cicero, which are subjoined—" *Prædam, manubias, sectionem castra denique Cnæi Pompeii, sedente imperatore, decemviri vendent;*" and he afterwards uses the two terms together—" *ex præda, ex manubiis, ex auro coronario.*" He then addressed himself to him who had observed that *manubiæ* was the same as *præda*: "And do you suppose," says he, "that Marcus Cicero, in each of these passages, would coldly and weakly have used the two terms, if, as you say, they signified the same thing. Truly, he would have been liable to the same jest as the facetious Aristophanes puts into the mouth of Euripides against Æschylus, when he says—

Twice hath wise Æschylus^a one thing affirmed;

'I come into the land and enter it.'

To come into, and enter, mean the same.

'Tis as though one should to a neighbour cry,

Use you the pot, or, if you please, the pan.

But by no means," says he, "are such instances as the *μακτρα* and *καρδοπος*, those which are used by the Greek and Roman poets for the sake of ornamenting their subject by the repetition of two or more words: for of what advantage is this repetition, this recapitulation of the same circumstance under a different name, in *manubiis* and in *præda*? Does it adorn the sentence, as it sometimes does? Does it render it more harmonious and musical? Does it add any apparent

^a *Wise Æschylus,*]—This kind of tautology is very frequent, particularly in the older writers, and not always without force. See, in particular, some instances in the sacred writings; as the 18th of Luke, and the 16th of John—

"And they understood none of these things, and this saying was hid from them, neither knew they the things that were spoken."

It ill became Aristophanes, as Spanhemius remarks (see Kuster's edition) to ridicule any one for this kind of tautology, of which he is more than once guilty. See, in particular, his *Peace*—

Ὡς ἡδομαι, καὶ τερπομαι, καὶ χαίρομαι,

which means, how I am pleased, delighted, and rejoiced. But, perhaps, the writers of comedy thought they had a greater licence allowed them.

strength or weight to any accusation, as on some occasions? namely, in the book of Cicero, which treats ‘*de constituendo accusatore*,’ where one and the same circumstance is strongly and effectually urged by an accumulation of words: ‘All Sicily, if she spake with one voice, would say this. What gold, what silver, what ornaments were there in the cities, in the habitations, in the temples?’ Now, after he had spoken of the cities altogether, he added the habitations and the temples, which are themselves contained in the cities. In the same book he says, in a similar manner— ‘Caius Verres, for the space of three years, continuing to lay waste the province of Sicily, destroyed the cities of the Sicilians, emptied their habitations, and plundered their temples.’ What is the reason, after he had said ‘the province of Sicily,’ that he should add ‘the cities of the province;’ that he should specify the habitations also, and the temples? and those varieties of words, *laid waste, destroyed, emptied, plundered*, have they not all one and the same power? Assuredly they have. But since the expression of them adds to the dignity of the composition, and the copiousness of the style, although they are of the same meaning, and spring from one sentiment, yet they appear to be changed as they strike the ear and the mind more frequently. This style of ornament, by accumulating in one charge many severe terms of reproach, Marcus Cato the eldest had rendered famous in his orations, as in
that

that which is entitled ‘*De decem hominibus*,’ wherein he accused Thermus of having put to death, at one time, ten free men: he there has made use of these words, all signifying the same thing, which, as they are illustrious specimens of oratory, then beginning to dawn, I may be allowed to cite: ‘*Tuum*’ nefarium facinus pejore facinore operire postulas, suicidias humanas facis, decem funera facis, decem capita libera interficis, decem hominibus vitam eripis, indictâ causâ, injudicatis, incondemnatis.’ So, in the beginning of his speech in behalf of the Rhodians, before the senate, when he was willing to describe too much prosperity, he speaks of it by three terms expressive of the same meaning. These are his words: ‘*Scio solere plerisque hominibus in rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, atque superbiam atque ferocitatem augescere.*’ In his seventh book of *Origins* too, Cato, in his oration against Servius Galba, has used many terms to express one thing: ‘*Multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire, anni, ætas, vox, vires, senectus, verum enimvero cum tantam rempublicam agier arbitrarer.*’ So, particularly in *Homer* there is a splendid instance wherein the same circumstance and sentiment is repeated—

‘*Tuum*,]—It would be utterly in vain to attempt to give the force of this sentence in English.

Jove

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Jove ⁴ from the battle's dust, and rude
uproar,
From slaughter, blood, and tumult, Hector
bore.

And in another verse he speaks of

⁵ Engagements, battles, slaughtering wounds,
and death.

Now, although these numerous terms import nothing more than the word 'battle,' yet the varied appearance of this one thing is charmingly and elegantly painted by a variety of terms. So too, in the same poet, the same sentiment is repeated, by the use of two phrases, with admirable effect. For when Idæus interferes between Hector and Ajax engaging, he thus addresses them—

Fight no more, youths, engage no more in
arms.

⁴ *Jove,*]—Thus interpreted by Pope—

Perhaps great Hector then had found his fate,
But Jove and destiny prolonged his date;
Safe from the darts, the care of heaven he stood,
Amidst alarms, and death, and dust, and blood.

⁵ *Engagements,*]—Thus by Pope.

There war, and havock, and destruction stood,
And vengeful murder, red with human blood.

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 75

In which line it is not necessary to suppose, that the latter words, signifying the same as the former, are added and stuffed in for the sake of filling up the metre, for this would be idle and futile. But while he gently and calmly reproved the forwardness, and ferocity, and ardour for combat in youths, stirred up by the desire of glory, by repeating the same thing twice, he more strongly shewed the atrociousness and criminality of their persevering; he encreased the strength of his censure by adding one word to the other, and the double address delivered at the same time made his admonitions more weighty. Nor is that repetition of the same sentiment to be considered as cold and inanimate, namely—

With death the wooers threatened and with fate
Telemachus.

Where these two terms, ‘death and fate,’ express the same thing. For the heinousness of their meditating so cruel and so unjust an act of destruction, is powerfully expressed by the repetition of terms signifying death. But who can be so senseless as not to discover, that the words ‘fight,’ and ‘engage in arms,’ though of the same meaning, are yet not used without some particular intention and effect; as likewise the following—

Haste, go, soft dream.

And

Haste, go, swift Iris.

Nor,

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Nor, as some think, are these phrases of equal meaning merely, but they are expressive of a command given to be executed with dispatch; so, in that speech of Marcus Cicero against Lucius Piso, the terms three times repeated, although they may not please men of less refined taste, are not only an improvement of the harmony, but have, from the circumstance of their repetition, a beautiful and powerful effect.

‘Vultus denique,’ says he, ‘totus qui sermo quidam tacitus mentis est, hic in fraudem homines impulit, hic eos quibus erat ignotus, decepit, fefellit, impulit.’ What is there, says he, of similitude in those phrases, used by the same author, of *præda* and *manubiæ*. Truly none at all; for neither is the sentence more ornamented by the addition of *manubiæ*, or more grand or more harmonious. But *præda* means one thing, as we learn from old writers, and *manubiæ* another; for *præda* means the substance itself of the thing taken, *manubiæ* is the money collected by the Quæstor from the sale of the plunder. Therefore Tully used each word for the sake of heaping invidious terms upon the decemviri, who were about to take away the plunder which was not yet sold, as well as the money arising from that which had been exposed to sale; therefore this inscription, which you are examining, ‘*ex manubiis*,’ demonstrates not the spoils themselves, for none of these things were taken by Trajan from his enemies, but shews that these ornaments
were

were fabricated and provided from the *manubiæ*, or money arising from the sale of the spoils. For the *manubiæ*, as I said before, are not the spoils, but the money raised by the quæstor from the sale of the plunder. By what I called the quæstor must now be understood the præfect of the treasury⁶; for the care of the treasury was transferred from the quæstor to the præfect. Instances, however, may be met with, where writers of some credit sometimes accidentally, or sometimes from negligence, have used *præda* for *manubiæ*, and *manubiæ* for *præda*; and by a certain figure have substituted one for the other, which indeed is allowable, when done with judgment and skill. But they who are accustomed to speak with particular propriety and accuracy, as in that passage of Marcus Tullius, by *manubias* intend to express money."

⁶ *Treasury*,]—See Heineccius, p. 184.

Jamque administratio ærarii jussu Neronis fuit penes præfectos ærarii, qui tamen etiam de causis fiscalibus judicabant.

In the time of the emperors there was a distinction made betwixt the public treasury and the private treasury of the prince.

C H A P. XXV. ¹

Passage from Publius Nigidius, in which he says, that in Valeri, the vocative case, the first syllable is to be made short.—Other observations on the right method of accenting such words.

THE following passage is from the 24th of the Grammatical Commentaries of Publius Nigidius, a man surpassing all others in variety of learning. “How,” says he, “at length, can the pronunciation be preserved, if we are left ignorant in nouns, as in *Valeri*, whether the vocative or the genitive case be expressed? For, if the second syllable of the genitive case be expressed with greater emphasis than the first, then the last syllable is spoken without emphasis. But in the vocative case, the first syllable is emphatic, and the rest gradually lose their emphasis.” These are Publius Nigidius’s directions. But if any one, now calling Valerius, should accent the first syllable of the vocative case according to Nigidius’s rule, he would go near to be ridiculed. What we call the *summus tonus*, he calls *προσῳδία*, our *accentus* he calls *voculatio*,

¹ The subject of this chapter is fully discussed by Muretus, c. 8. de Linguae Lat. Pronunciatione, but the whole is of little importance to the English reader.

and he calls that the "*casus interrogandi*," which we call "*casus genitivus*." In the same book of Nigidius we meet with this passage: "If you write *hujus amici*, or *hujus magni*, in the singular number, let the letter *i* only close the word; but if you write *bi magnei*, *bi amicei* in the nominative plural, then before *i*, *e* must be inserted. So, in like manner, if *hujus terrai*, let *i* be the last letter; if *huic terræ*, *e* must be admitted. So, if any one writes *mêi*, in the genitive case, let him write it by *i* only and not by *e*, as when we say *mêi studiosus*; when he writes *mei*, it must be by *e* and *i*, because it is the dative case." Induced to listen to the authority of a very learned man, I thought these things should not be passed over, that they may reap some advantage who are enquiring into such subjects of literature.

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CHAP. XXVI.

THE following verse is from the poet Parthenius :

Γλαυκῶ, καὶ Νηρεί, καὶ Εἰναλίῳ, Μελικερτῇ.

Virgil has imitated this line, and has, by the change of two words, made his imitation equal to the original :

Glauco¹, & Panopeæ, & Inoo Melicertæ.

But he has by no means equalled that Homeric passage which he copied, nor indeed given any thing like it's excellence. Homer seems to be more simple and perfect, Virgil is more affected, and certainly less elegant—

Ταυρον δ' Ἀλφειῷ, ταυρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι. HOMER.

Taurum² Neptuno, taurum tibi pulcher Apollo.
VIRGIL.

¹ *Glauco*,]—Consult, on this passage, Lucian, the edition of Hemsterhuis, v. 3. p. 686.—Taubmannus, 156.—Macrobius, b. 5. c. 17. informs us, that Virgil made much use of Parthenius. This poet flourished in the beginning of the reign of Augustus, and wrote amatory poems.

² *Taurum*.]—A bull to Neptune, an oblation due, Another bull to bright Apollo slew.

CHAP. XXVII.

Sentiment of the Philosopher Panætius, from his second book De Officiis, in which he recommends, that men should on all occasions be careful to avoid injuries *.

THE philosopher Panætius's second book of Offices, one of those celebrated treatises which Marcus Tullius with so much labour and attention imitated, was read to us. There was written, among many other things of excellent tendency, what ought most particularly to be fixed in the mind. The import of it is this—
“ The life of those who pass their time in business, and are desirous of being useful to themselves and others, brings with it daily troubles and sudden dangers. To avoid these, a ready

* See a similar sentiment to this of Panætius in Apuleius: Cautoque circumspectu vitam, quæ multis casibus subjacet, esse muniendam.

In Seneca:

Necesse est multum in vita nostra casus possit, quia vivimus casu.

Socrates compares human life to a battle, in which an experienced soldier will not venture himself without a shield.

See also St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, and upon other occasions.

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and attentive mind is necessary, such as they must possess who are called Pancratiastæ. For as they, when summoned to the contest, stand with their arms stretched forward, and guard their head and face with their hands as with a rampart; and as their limbs, before the battle commences, are prepared either to avoid the blows of the enemy or to plant their own, so ought the mind and the attention of every prudent man to be guarded against the power and the caprice of injustice, looking forward through every place, and, upon every occasion, diligent, protected, steady, and alert, never suffering the attention to flag, ever keeping its object in view, opposing debate and consideration, like arms and hands, against the lashes of fortune and the snares of the wicked, lest at any time an adverse and sudden attack should be made upon us when we are unprepared and destitute of defence²."

² Horace mentions this Panætius, Od. 29. l. i.

Cum tu coemptos undique nobiles
Libros Panæti, Socraticam et domum,
Mutare loricis Iberis
Pollicitus meliora tendis.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Quadrigarius has used the phrase, " cum multis mortalibus." Whether and how it would have differed if he had said, " cum multis hominibus."

CLAUDIUS Quadrigarius has this passage in the 13th of his Annals. "The assembly being dismissed, Metellus came into the capitol with many followers (*cum multis mortalibus*); thence, on his way home, the whole city attended him." When this book, with these words, was read to Marcus Fronto, while I and some others were sitting with him, it was the opinion of a person present, by no means destitute of learning, that the phrase "*multis mortalibus*," for "*multis hominibus*," was absurd and frigid, when applied to history, and that it favoured too much of poetry. Fronto then addressing himself to the person who was of this opinion, said, "And do you, who are a man of distinguished taste in other matters, affirm that the phrase "*multis mortalibus*" is absurd and spiritless? Can you imagine that this writer, whose style is so pure and so familiar, had no motive for saying *mortalibus* rather than *bominibus*? And do you suppose that he describes a multitude in the same manner when he says

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multis hominibus, and not *multis mortalibus*? I, indeed, think the matter is thus, unless my regard and veneration for this writer, and for every ancient composition, render my judgment blind; that the word *mortales* has a far more comprehensive and unlimited signification in describing the concourse of a whole city than *homines*. The compass of the words, *multi homines*, may be included within a moderate number; but *multi mortales*, by I know not what indescribable scope of meaning, includes the whole race of citizens of every order, age, and sex. And as Quadrigarius wished to describe (as it happened) a mixed multitude, he said that Metellus came *cum multis mortalibus*, into the capitol, speaking with more force than if he had said *cum multis hominibus*." When we expressed, as became us, not only our approbation, but our admiration of what Fronto had said, "Take care," said he, "lest you should fancy that *mortales multos* is to be used on every occasion instead of *homines multos*, and the Greek proverb from Varro's satire should be applied, *τον επι τη φωνη μωρον* ¹." This cri-

¹ *Τον επι τη φωνη μωρον*,]—The meaning of this epigram is explained by Martial in his third book. In his epigram beginning with—

Unguentum fateor bonum dedisti,
Convivis heri, sed nihil scidisti.

Written to a man who had given his guests perfumes, but nothing to eat. See also Casaubon ad Athenæum, 292. and in particular, Erasmus, Adagia, p. 1077. In *lenticulo unguentatus*, said of a person who makes a showy entertainment, but does not satisfy the hunger of his guests.

ticism

ticism of Fronto's, though upon matters of little consequence, and some trifling words, I thought worthy of preserving, lest the accurate and subtile distinction of words of this sort should escape us.

CHAP. XXIX.

The word facies is not correctly used by the vulgar.

WE may observe, there are many words in the Latin language which have ceased to bear their original signification, having passed into some very distant or some nearer meaning, through the power of custom, and the ignorance of those who speak without knowing the meaning of the words they use; as there are some who think that *facies* means only the mouth, the eyes, and cheeks of a man, which the Greeks call *προσωπον*; whereas *facies* means the form, manner, and fabrication, as it were, of the whole body, so called *a faciendo*, as *species* from *aspectu*, and *figura* from *figendo*. So Pacuvius, in his

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tragedy named *Niptra*, calls the stature of a man's body

"*Ætate integrâ, feroci ingenio, facie procera virum.*"

"Mature, of powerful mind, and stature tall."

But *facies* is not only applied to the persons of men, but to things of many other kinds. It may with propriety, if seasonably, be said of a mountain, of the heavens¹, and of the sea. Sallust has this passage in the second book of his history: "*Sardinia, facie vestigii humani*, in the shape of a human foot, projects towards the east into the African sea, becoming wider toward the west."

¹ *The heavens,*]—This is a common mode of expression in our own language. We say perpetually the *face* for the appearance of things. Thus in the gospel of St. Luke, c. xii. ver. 56.

Ye hypocrites, ye can discern the *face* of the sky and of the earth.

The verb to face is used in a singular sense by Shakespeare:

Fair Margaret knows

That Suffolk does not flatter, *face*, or feign.

But this was the current language of his time.

In the second verse of Genesis we have—

And darkness was upon the *face* of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved upon the *face* of the waters.

Horace applies the word *facies* to a horse:

Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur, apertos
Inspiciunt, nec si facies ut sæpe decora
Molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem.

But Plautus too, in his *Pænulus*, has *facies* for the manner of the whole person and complexion. His words are these—

But for their nurse, describe her person to me.

(quâ sit facie)

Her stature is short, and her complexion brown;
Her face is handsome, and her eyes quite black.

In these words he has completely described her person. Moreover, I remember that *Quadrigarius* has, in his eleventh book, used *facies* to express the stature and figure of the whole body.

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CHAP. XXX.

Meaning of caninum prandium in Marcus Varro's Satire.

A FOOLISH boasting fellow, sitting lately in a bookseller's shop, was praising and extolling himself as if he were the only man under heaven who could explain those satires of Marcus Varro, which some call Cynical, others Menippean. He then produced some passages not very difficult, which, he said, no one could presume to expound. By chance I turned to that book of the satires which is entitled, *Hydrocryon*; and, approaching him, I said, "Do you know, Sir, the meaning of that old sentence? The most excellent music¹, if it be hidden, is worth nothing. I beg of you, therefore, read us a few of these verses, and tell us their meaning."—"Nay, but," says he, "do you rather read them to me, in order that I may explain what you do not understand."—"But how can I read that of which

¹ *Excellent music,*]—There is a Greek phrase to the same effect in Lucian—

Οὐδὲν ὀφελὸς ἀπορρητὸν καὶ ἀφανὲς τῆς Μουσικῆς.

A similar sentiment occurs in *Telemachus*:—He who has knowledge, and communicates it not, is like a good sword that is never drawn.

I do

I do not know the meaning? What I read will be indistinct and confused, and may interrupt your attention." Many others, who were present, approving of this remark, and seeming eager for his explanation, he received from my hands an approved ancient copy of the work, fairly written; but he took it with a most tremulous and sorrowful countenance. How shall I express what followed! I can scarcely, indeed, require to be believed. Ignorant boys at school, if they had taken up that book, could not have been more ridiculous; he did so murder the sentences, and so miserably pronounce the words. He then returned me the book, amidst the laughter of the company. "You see," says he, "how bad my eyes are, and almost worn out with perpetual studies: I can scarcely catch up the points of the letters. When I recover from this complaint in my eyes, come to me, and I will read the whole book to you."—"I wish your eyes well, Sir," said I, "but, in the mean time, tell me something with which your eyes are not concerned. What is the meaning, in that passage which you have read, of the phrase "*caninum prandium*?" Then did

* By the term *caninum prandium*, Gellius seems to understand an abstemious dinner. Erasmus does the same: but Quintus Carolus, a commentator on Gellius, interprets it differently thus. What is here said of a dog's not drinking wine is equally true of a cat, or a mouse, or a fish. There are three sorts of wine, new, old, and of middle age: new wine makes us cold, old wine temperately warms, but wine of middle

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did this egregious blockhead, as if alarmed by the difficulty of the question, rise up, and, going away, said, " You are asking no small matter; I do not give such information for nothing." The words of the passage containing this proverb, are these: " Do you not see that, according to Mnestheus, there are three sorts of wine, the black, the white, and the middle sort, which they call carnation; but the black wine produces strength, the white, urine, and the middle sort, digestion; that the new wine cools, the old heats, and the middle sort is *caninum prandium*, a dinner for a dog." Long and earnestly did we argue upon this trifling subject, the meaning of *prandium caninum*.

An abstemious dinner, in which no wine is drank, is called *prandium caninum*, because a dog drinks no wine. When, therefore, he spoke of that middle sort of wine which was neither new nor old, and many people speak as if all wine was either new or old, he meant to show, that the middle sort had no strength.—" that then," says he, " is not to be considered as wine which neither cools nor heats you."

Refrigerare, to cool, is the same as the *αναψυξει* of the Greeks.

dle age inflames the blood, gets into the head, and makes people quarrel and fight like dogs.

Erasmus servilely follows Gellius in his interpretation of this proverb, with no original remarks of his own.

We have, in English, a proverbial phrase of " A dog's life," which is used to signify a life of hunger and ease.

BOOK

B O O K XIV.

C H A P. I.

Dissertation of Favorinus against those called Chaldeans, who, from the combinations and motions of the constellations and stars, pretend to foretel the fortunes of men¹.

A GAINST those who call themselves Chaldeans, or calculators of nativity, and profess, from the motion and situation of the stars, to foretel

¹ Chaldæa seems, by universal consent, to have been the original seat of science; and, as far as a clear unobstructed view of the heavenly bodies, among open plains, and an unclouded atmosphere, could suggest or promote a knowledge of astronomy, that branch of philosophy, being cultivated there under every natural advantage, was eminently successful. That an unenlightened people, in any part of the habitable world, perceiving a change in the appearance of the firmament to be accompanied by visible alterations in the weather and the seasons, should transfer this imaginary influence to the bodies, constitutions, and fortunes of men, is by no means wonderful. Thus, in every age and every climate,

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foretel events, I formerly heard the philosopher Favorinus, at Rome, speaking, in Greek, in an excellent

climate, we find this species of superstition invariably and almost universally predominant. We have the highest authority for believing, that the Chaldæans not only took the lead in real science, but preserved and extended their influence for a considerable period, and to no very narrow limits. Why the term Chaldæans was afterwards universally understood to convey reproach, may be thus explained. The progress from the use to the abuse of wisdom and knowledge, has at all times kept pace with the passions and vices of the profligate. Thus of the Chaldæans there may be supposed to have existed a meaner number, who, prostituting the knowledge which they had of astronomy, yielded to the impression of avarice and interest, and played upon the credulity of the weak. This appears from a multitude of passages in ancient writers; and to this contemptible crew the prophet Isaiah probably alluded, (see ch. xlvii. ver. 13.) Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up and save thee from those things that shall come upon thee.

The Romans, under the term Chaldæi, principally referred to the adventurers from Ægypt; but it may be observed, that their best writers always mentioned this fortune-telling tribe with contempt, and sometimes with abomination. I mention a few instances in which they are mentioned by Roman writers, where this quality of foretelling the future is ascribed to them.

See Cicero pro Muræna—

Erant in magna potentia qui consulebantur, a quibus dicebantur tanquam a Chaldæis petebatur.

Horace—

Tu ne quæsieris scire nefas quem mihi quem tibi
Finem dii dederint, Leucothoe: neu Babylonios
Tentaris numeros.

Again,

cellent and splendid style. Whether he delivered his real sentiments, or spoke for the sake of exercising or exhibiting his talents, I cannot say; but the heads of passages, and of his arguments, as he arranged them, I have been able to remember; for, when I left the assembly, I immediately noted them down. They had principally this tendency: that the science of the Chaldæans was not of such antiquity as they wished it to appear; and that they were not the real founders of it, though they pretended to be so; but that people of this sort were jugglers, who dealt in delusions and tricks, procuring provision and money by their lying stories; and that, as they saw amongst men certain terrestrial objects swayed by the perception and guidance of heavenly bodies,

Again, the same author—

*Irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
Ut magus.*

Juvenal—

*Chaldæis sed major erit fiducia, quicquid
Dixerit astrologus credent a fronte relatum
Hammonis—*

The moralist will probably think it just matter of astonishment, that neither the progress nor refinement of knowledge, nor even the light of revelation, has at all effaced this superstition, nor abolished the influence of this people. There is yet a wandering race calling themselves Gypsies, and doubtless of Ægyptian origin, who, without any pretensions to science of any kind, arrogate to themselves this preternatural knowledge of futurity, and find numbers who are weak and foolish enough to believe them.

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as, for instance, the ocean², which, being the companion, as it were, of the moon, grows old, and resumes it's youth, with her; they have thence formed an argument to persuade us, that all human affairs, great and small, are conducted and regulated as if bound by the stars and constellations. But, he added, it was too foolish and absurd, because the tide of the ocean agreed with the progress of the moon, that we should suppose any other concern, such as a lawsuit concerning a conduit, or a wall between two neighbours, to be regulated by any chain from heaven; which, if indeed it could happen by any divine interposition, he yet thought it could not be comprehended and thoroughly understood by any compass of the mind, in the short and trifling space allotted to human life. But, he said, that they interpreted a few things, to use his own word *παχυμερέστερον*, with a good deal of stupidity, for which they had no foundation in science, but which were loose thoughts, conceived at random, and arbitrarily imposed, like that compass

* *The ocean,*]—This alludes to the phenomena of the ebbing and flowing of the tides, which perplexed the ancients, and was by them considered as the greatest mystery in the circle of natural philosophy. They imputed the flux and reflux of the waters of the sea to the influence and operation of the moon only, whereas the investigations of modern philosophers, and of our Newton in particular, have satisfactorily proved, that the tides are produced by the combination of the forces of the sun and moon; that is, that there are two tides, a solar and a lunar tide.

of the eyes which sees distant objects, though blind to those which are nearer. That the great difference between the gods and men was taken away, if men had the power of foreknowing future events. Moreover, he thought it by no means clearly made out, that the observation of the stars and constellations was, as they inculcated, the origin of their science. For if the original Chaldæans, who lived on open plains, observed the motions of the stars, their orbits, and different combinations, thence calculating events, let, said he, the cultivation of this science proceed, but then let it be under the same aspect of the heaven where the Chaldæans originally were. For, continued he, the system adopted by the Chaldæans can no longer be in force, if any one applies it to different sections of the heavens. For who does not see, how great a variety there is of parts and circles of the heavens, arising from the diverging and convexities of the globe. For as the same stars, by which they contend that all things, human and divine, are regulated, do not every where excite cold or heat, but change and vary them, and, at the same time, produce in one place calm seasons, in another tempestuous, why may they not, in like manner, affect circumstances and events, producing one thing among the Chaldæans, another among the Getulians; one upon the Danube, another at the Nile? But it is very inconsistent, says he, for them to suppose, that the body and quality of air under
 a different

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a different inflexion of the heavens, necessarily varies, and yet that upon human affairs the stars give the same information, though consulted from any part of the earth. Besides, he wondered also to find it admitted by every one as an axiom, that those stars, which, they say, were studied by the Chaldæans and Babylonians, or Ægyptians, which many call *erraticas*, wandering, and which Nigidius calls *errones*, are not more in number than they are usually said to be. For he thought it might happen, that there were other planets of equal influence, without which, a just and determinate calculation could not be made; which, however, men could not distinguish, either on account of their splendor or altitude. For, said he, some stars are visible from some situations of the earth, and are known to those who inhabit there; but the same are not seen³ from every region, and are to some utterly unknown. Now, as we see only these stars, and know that they are only to be seen from one part of the earth, what end is there to that sort of calculation? or what time seems sufficient to make us understand what the junctions, or the circuits, or the transits of the stars, forebode⁴? For, if a calcu-

³ *Not seen,*]—This must necessarily happen at the poles.

⁴ *Forebode,*]—Yet the Arabian and Eastern philosophers found it necessary to comply in this instance with the credulity and superstitions of mankind.

calculation be made in this manner, to ascertain under what influence, aspect, form, and situation of the stars any one was born, so that regularly from the beginning of his life his good or bad fortune, his manners, his disposition, the circumstances which happened to him, and the business in which he was engaged, and, at length, the close of his life, may be determined, and all these things, as they had happened, be committed to writing; a long time after, when the stars were in the same situation and in the same order, it is thought the same things would happen to others born at that time; if, said he, their calculation be made upon these principles, and their science be built upon such a calculation, it can by no means merit confidence. Let them tell us in how many years, or rather in how many ages, the circle of their calculation can be made perfect. For astrologers agree, that those stars, which they call *wandering**, and which are said to influence events, after an almost infinite and innumerable series of years, resume the same

“ In the eastern courts the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the astronomer would have been disregarded, had he not debased his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology.”—*Gibbon*.

The historian above cited tells us, in a note, that Albumazar and the best of the Arabian astronomers allowed the truth of astrology.

* *Wandering*,]—These stars were sometimes called *Vagæ*.—See Censorinus de Die Natali, Cicero de Nat. Deorum, Macrobius, &c.

station from whence they first proceeded; so that no system of observation, no trace of memory, no literary record can endure for so long a period. Another circumstance in his opinion to be considered was, that one constellation presided when the man was conceived in the womb of his mother, another at the time when, ten months after, he was produced to light; and he asked how it was consistent that a different fortune should be attributed to the same person, since, according to their notions, the different situation and course of the stars gave rise to different events; but from the time of marriage, when children were expected, and even when the man and woman were in cohabitation, he said, it ought to be declared, by a fixed and necessary position of the stars, with what qualities and what fortunes men should be born; and, indeed, even long before the father and mother were born, what offspring should arise, and to whom that offspring should give birth, and so on even to infinity; so that if that science were built upon any foundation of truth, those stars ought to have foretold an hundred years ago, or rather from the formation of the heavens and the earth, how many generations of men should be born by a continued calculation, and what disposition and fortune every person now alive should enjoy. But how is it to be credited, that the chance and fortune, which determines the form and situation of each

each star, should be a certain destiny^s affixed to some one man particularly; and that the same form, after a very long series of years, should again appear, when the circumstances of the same man's life and fortune, in such short intervals, through the gradations from one ancestor to another, and an infinite order of succession, are so often and so variously pointed out, not by the appearance of the stars, but by the person. Now, if this can be done, and a difference and variety is admitted, this inequality confounds the calculation which was to explore, through the steps of antiquity, the origin of men born afterwards, and

^s *Destiny*.]—Seneca, however, with all his wisdom, believed the stars to have an influence on the fortunes of men.

Videbis quinque sidera diversas agentia vias, et in contrarium præcipiti mundo nitentia: ex horum levissimis motibus fortunæ populorum dependent, et maxima ac minima proinde formantur, prout æquum iniquumve sidus incessit."

We may easily forgive Virgil for availing himself of this idea to introduce the beautiful prognostication of the death of Julius Cæsar.

Cicero, in his second book de Divinatione, relaxes the gravity of the philosopher to laugh at these fooleries, expressing himself in such terms as these: "Ad Chaldæorum monstra venerimus—Chaldæis minime est credendum—O delirationem incredibilem.—See chapters 42, 3, 4.

It would be absurd also not to refer in this place to a passage in Strabo, b. 14. where we learn that there was a place in Babylon for a sect of wandering philosophers called Chaldæans; these are men who pretend to calculate nati- vities and tell fortunes; Strabo, however, does not speak of them as entitled to any degree of credit.

the whole science is overturned. But what he thought most intolerable was their opinion that not only circumstances and events of an extrinsic nature, but even the deliberations, and the wills, and the various pursuits of men; what they aimed at, and what they avoided, the accidental and sudden impulses of their minds on the most trifling occasions, were excited and regulated from the heavens; as if, when you wished to go into the bath, then lay aside that wish, and again resume it; all this should happen, not from any varying or changeable disposition of the mind, but from some necessary coincidence of wandering stars; so that men seem not what you can call reasonable beings, but absurd and ridiculous puppets, effecting nothing by their own accord, gratifying in nothing their own will, but acting as the stars lead or drive them. As, says he, if it could have been foretold whether King Pyrrhus or M. Curius should be conquerors in the battle, why may they not say which will have the advantage of two persons playing at dice or counters on a chess board? or is it, that knowing great they are ignorant of little things? or are smaller objects more imperceptible than larger? If, however, they choose great objects, and affirm that they are more conspicuous and more easily comprehended, I would have them inform me, in this contemplation of the whole world, what they consider as a
great

great object among the trifling and short-lived concerns which nature allows to men, and let them tell us too, when so minute and so rapid is that point of time in which a man at his birth receives his destiny, that at the same moment, under the same circle of the heaven, more than one cannot be born to the same fate, and that even twins have not the same lot in life, because they are not born at the same moment; let them tell us by what study or contrivance they are able to catch that instant of fleeting time which can scarcely be seized by thought, or how they can perceive and arrest it, when they acknowledge, that in the precipitate revolution of day and night the smallest portions of time cause the greatest changes of fortune. He finally enquired, what there was which could be advanced against the following argument? That persons of either sex, of all ages, and born under different positions of the stars, in different countries, yet all of them, in an earthquake, or by the fall of houses, or in the siege of towns, or sunk in the same ship, should perish by the same mode of death in the same moment? which, said he, never could happen, if the point of time attributed to the birth of each, had it's peculiar laws. But if some circumstances attending the death or the life of men, though born at different times, may be said, from certain agreements among the stars, to be rendered equal and

similar, why then may not all things so become equal, that by an union and agreement of the stars, many a Socrates, many an Antisthenes, and many a Plato may at the same time spring up equal in birth, in appearance, in talents, in manners, in their whole life, and circumstance of their death, which, says he, can by no means ever be the case. No good reasoning can they with propriety oppose to my argument upon the inequality of men's births, and the similarity of their deaths; but, he said, he pardoned them, because they did not require all this. If the time, and the manner, and the cause of man's life and death, and of all human affairs, were fixed in the heaven and in the stars, what would they say of flies, worms, shell fish, and many other of those very small objects of land and sea? Are they too born and extinguished under the same laws as men, so that frogs and gnats have the same portion of fate allotted to them at their birth, by the motions of the stars. If, however, they were not of this opinion, he saw no reason why the power of the stars should prevail as to men, and be ineffectual as to the rest of the creation. These remarks I have thrown together in an unfinished manner, and in a very rude style. But Favorinus, such were his talents, and such the beautiful flow of the Greek language, delivered them with more copiousness, more elegance, more splendour, and a more graceful style.

He,

He, moreover, advised us to beware, lest these sycophants should creep into our confidence, because sometimes they appeared to hit upon and to express a truth. For, says he, they speak things which you cannot lay hold on, indefinite and incomprehensible, and depend upon a slippery and circuitous mode of conjecture, they go on step by step between truth and falsehood, like people walking in the dark. Thus, by making many attempts, they come suddenly, and without knowing it, upon the truth; or the credulity of those whom they consult being their guide, they arrive by cunning at something true, and thence appear to be followers of the truth, rather by the help of things which are past than of those which are to come. Whatever truths they utter proceed either from rashness or cunning; but they bear not the proportion of a thousandth part to the falsehoods which they relate. These observations, which I heard from Favorinus, I remember the testimonies of many ancient poets have confirmed, in which such delusive fallacies are exposed, as in that of Pacuvius—

Who through the deeds of future days can see,
With heaven's high ruler shall an equal be.

Accius likewise says—

I heed no tales the wheedling augur tells,
When sayings rich for sterling gold he sells.

H 4

Favorinus,

Favorinus, too, willing to deter and dissuade young men by all means from visiting and consulting these calculators of nativity, or any other persons of that description, who professed by magic arts to foretel events, concluded with arguments of this kind. "Either," said he, "they declare prosperous or adverse events. If prosperous, and they deceive you, you will become miserable by a fruitless expectation; if they declare adverse events, and speak falsely, you will be miserable from vain fears. If they speak truly, and the events they foretell are inauspicious, you thence will become miserable by anticipation, before you are so by fate. If they promise happiness, and it should come to pass, thence will surely arise two inconveniencies; the expectation of your wishes will fatigue you with suspense, and hope will have cropped the flower of your expected bliss. By no means ought you, therefore, to apply to people of this sort, who pretend to foretel events."

CHAP. II.

*Discourse of Favorinus when I consulted him upon
the office of a judge.*

WHEN first I was chosen by the prætors one of the judges to superintend what are called private suits, I searched after books in both languages ¹ on the duties of a judge. As I was then a young man, summoned from the fables of poets and the perorations of orators to preside in courts of law, that I might learn from dead counsellors that legal information which the scarcity of living authorities denied me, in all irregular proceedings and delays of court, and upon certain other legal subjects, I sought advice and assistance from the Julian ² Law, from Massurius Sabinus, and from the commentaries of other skilful

¹ *Both languages,*]—That is, Latin and Greek, this latter being the fashionable language at Rome, as French is in the different courts of Europe.

² *Julian law,*]—This alludes to a law of Julius Cæsar to regulate the office and duties of a judge. The reader will find the subject of this chapter, on the office of a judge, perspicuously and fully discussed by Heineccius, p. 646
of

skilful lawyers ; but, in the forms of business, as they now exist, and in the comparison of different questions, I reaped no advantage from books of this sort ; for although the opinions of judges are to be collected from the statement of facts before them, yet they are generally preconceived, and the result of previous deliberation, by which a judge ought to be guarded before he hears a cause in public, and to be prepared against the

of his *Illustrations of Roman Jurisprudence*. The *judex* or judge, properly so called, judged both of fact and law ; but he seems to have acted under the authority of the *prætor*, who referred causes to be tried by three distinct orders of judges, with different privileges and authorities, called *judices*, *arbitri*, and *recuperatores*.

The following passage on this subject is from Gibbon—

In his civil jurisdiction, the *prætor* of the city was truly a judge, and almost a legislator ; but as soon as he had prescribed the action of the law, he often referred to a delegate the determination of the fact. With the increase of legal proceedings, the tribunal of the *centumviri*, in which he presided, acquired more weight and reputation. But whether he acted alone, or with the advice of his council, the most absolute powers might be trusted to a magistrate who was annually chosen by the votes of the people. The rules and precautions of freedom have required some explanation, the order of despotism is simple and inanimate. Before the age of Justinian, or perhaps of Dioclesian, the decuries of Roman judges had sunk to an empty title, the humble advice of the assessors might be accepted or despised, and in each tribunal the civil and criminal jurisdiction was administered by a single magistrate, who was raised and disgraced by the will of the emperor.

uncertainties which may produce future difficulty; as there at that time occurred to me an ambiguity so inexplicable as to prevent my discovering the true state of the case: A man claimed before me a sum of money, which, he said, had been paid and counted out; but he proved it, neither by any note of hand³, or record, or tablet, or witnesses, and relied on very slender arguments; but it appeared that he was a man of very good character⁴, of known and tried integrity, and of a most exemplary life. Many strong instances of his probity were produced; while he, upon whom the demand was made, was a man of no substance, of a base and dishonourable life, and proved to be a common liar, notorious for his cheats and frauds. He, however, insisted, together with a number who sided with him, that the money lent, ought to be proved, in the usual manner, by the balance of accounts, the calculation of interest, the signature of the borrower, the sealing of the deed, and the presence of witnesses; and that, if it

³ *Note of hand,*]—Or rather bond.—When a person lent a sum of money, each party, debtor and creditor, mutually signed the agreement in each other's tablets, and these tablets were admitted in courts of justice as evidence of the fact.

⁴ *Very good character,*]—*Firme bonum*, for which I would recommend to read, *firme bonum*. What follows seems to justify what I propose, “of known and tried integrity.”

were

were proved by none of all these circumstances, then ought the defendant to be dismissed, and the plaintiff condemned for calumny; and whatever was advanced concerning the life and practice of either, was to no purpose; for this was a case of property before a judge deciding between two private men, and not a question of morals before the censors. Some friends of mine, whom I had consulted, men practised in law suits, and of some note in courts of judicature, though somewhat inclined to precipitation from the multitude of their law business, said, there was no cause for delay or hesitation, but that he must be dismissed, against whom, it was proved by none of the accustomed forms that he had received the money. But when I recollected the characters of the two men, one distinguished by his integrity, the other of a most dissolute and abandoned life, I could not prevail on myself to dismiss him, I ordered, therefore, the day of decision to be deferred, and went immediately from the bench to the philosopher Favorinus, to whom, being in my time at Rome, I very much attached myself. I told him the whole story of the two men, as it had been related to me; and I requested that he would give me some instruction on the matter which then perplexed me, and also upon other subjects likely to require my attention in the office of a judge. Favorinus having approved of the scrupulousness

ness of my delay, and the propriety of my solicitude, said, " That which now causes your hesitation may appear to be of a trifling nature, but if you wish me to give you general directions how to act in the capacity of a judge, this is by no means a proper time or place; for that discussion involves many nice and intricate questions, and requires much anxious attention and study. But to touch upon a few of the leading topics, this, above all things, is usually enquired concerning the office of a judge: If a judge should happen to be acquainted with a circumstance which officially comes before him, and the whole matter, before it is pleaded on or brought into court, from some other business or accident should be clearly proved to him, and yet not established upon the trial, ought he to pass sentence from his previous knowledge, or from the evidence produced in court? It is likewise a common subject of argument, whether it is proper for a judge, knowing every circumstance of the subject in dispute, if he has an opportunity of compounding the business, to lay aside his judicial character, and act the part of a common friend and a peace-maker. I know that it is likewise disputed, whether a judge, aware of what is necessary to be declared or enquired into, ought to declare or make the enquiry when he, whose interest it is to have him do so, neither thinks of nor requires it; for they say
 this

this is acting the part of a patron not of a judge. It is also a question, whether it be within the practice and office of a judge so to explain and unfold, by his occasional interlocutions, the cause before him, that before the time of passing sentence he shall be in such a manner moved by the things which are confusedly and inconsistently related, as to indicate, by his behaviour, his real opinion. For," says he, "those judges, who appear acute and expeditious, conceive that a matter cannot be examined and understood unless the judge, by frequent questions and necessary interference, discovers his own opinion, and makes himself master of that of the disputants. They, on the contrary, who are reckoned more sedate and grave, deny that a judge ought, before sentence, and while the cause is pending, as often as any proposition is made, to intimate his own opinion. For, say they, the variety of facts and arguments produced must excite different emotions of the mind; and thus, in the same cause, and at the same time, he will appear to feel and to speak differently. But," continued Favorinus, "on these and other such subjects, relative to the office of a judge, hereafter, when I have time, I will endeavour to give you my sentiments, and will relate to you the precepts of Ælius Tubero upon the subject, which I read very lately. As to the money which you say was claimed before you in your judicial capacity, I
advise

advise you to follow the advice of that very wise man, Marcus Cato, who, in his defence of Lucius Turius against Cnæus Gellius, says, that the custom handed down and observed by our ancestors, was this: If there were any subject of dispute between two men, which could not be proved by records or witnesses, it was then enquired by the judge, who presided in the cause, which was the better man of the two. If they were equally either good or bad, then credit was given to the plaintiff, and the matter was decided according to his testimony; but in this cause which perplexes you, the plaintiff is a man of the best character, the other of the worst, and the matter is disputed between two persons without witnesses. Give credit, therefore, to the plaintiff, and convict the defendant; since, as you say, their characters are not equal, and that of the plaintiff is the better."

Thus did Favorinus advise me, as became a philosopher; but I thought it was too presumptuous for one of my age and little consequence to appear to take cognizance, and give judgment from the characters of the litigants, and not from the proofs of the fact. Yet I could not bring my mind to dismiss the defendant, so I swore that the matter was not clear to me, and was thus excused from passing judgment. The words of Cato, to which Favorinus alluded, are these: "I remember this tradition from our ancestors.

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If any one sue another for any thing, and if both are equal, either good or bad, and no witnesses appear as to what passed between them, credit is to be given to the defendant; now, if Gellius should be at issue with Turius, unless Gellius be a better man than Turius, no one, I think, would be so insane as to decide in favour of Gellius. If Gellius be not better than Turius, you must then give judgment in favour of the defendant."

CHAP. III.

Whether Xenophon and Plato were rivals, and at enmity with each other.

THEY who have written on the life and manners of Xenophon and Plato, and, indeed, upon all subjects relating to them, with the greatest accuracy and elegance, have been of opinion that they entertained certain secret jealousies, and a mutual spirit of rivalry, against each other; and they have produced some arguments from their writings, which tend to strengthen this conjecture. They are of this nature: that in so many books written by Plato, mention is nowhere made of Xenophon; nor, on the other hand, is mention made of Plato by Xenophon¹,

¹ *Xenophon.*]—That a jealousy did actually exist betwixt these two accomplished and eminent men there can be very little reason to doubt. The assertion, however, that Xenophon nowhere makes mention of Plato is not true. He introduces his name in the *Memorabilia*, where he tells us that Socrates was a friend to Glaucon on account of Charmides the son of Glaucon, and on account of Plato; *Σωκράτης δὲ εὖνος ὡς αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν Χαρμίδην τοῦ Γλαυκῶνος καὶ διὰ Πλάτωνα.*

Diogenes Laertius, in his *Life of Plato*, mentions the same circumstance. Consult also Athenæus, book the eleventh, where the question is yet more fully discussed.

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although each of them, and particularly Plato in his treatises, has spoken of many of the followers of Socrates. This, too, they consider as no proof of sincere and friendly disposition; that Xenophon, in opposition to that celebrated work of Plato on the best system of government, proposed a different mode of governing a state, in a work entitled *Cyropædia*; and they add, that Plato was so much hurt by this conduct, that mention being made in some book of King Cyrus, in order to reflect on Xenophon's work he said, that Cyrus was a sagacious and a strong man, but "had not by any means profited by his education;" for these are Plato's words about Cyrus. They think, too, in addition to what I have said, it may be alledged, that in those books of his which record the sayings and conduct of Socrates, he affirms that Socrates never did dispute upon natural causes and the laws of the heavenly bodies, and that he never touched upon or cultivated any of those sciences which the Greeks call mathematics, and which have no reference to the proper or happy conduct of life; therefore, he says, they are guilty of a base falsehood who attribute such dissertations to Socrates. When Xenophon, they observe, wrote this, he hints at Plato², in whose works Socrates disputes upon
physical

* *Plato,*]—The following is from Dr. Barry's ingenious and learned treatise on the wines of the ancients:

"A jealousy

physical subjects, upon music and geometry. Now if this were to be believed, or even suspected, in men

“ A jealousy had long prevailed between Plato and Xenophon, which subsisted at the time when Plato published his *Symposium*. This excited Xenophon to write another, which should be not only more agreeable to his taste, and the established convivial rules, but should also afford him an occasion to vindicate the character of some of his friends, whom Plato seems to have pointed out and censured in his *Symposium*; and, indeed, the latter differs from that of Plato in almost every respect.

“ They had long been rivals in fame, and their opposition in sentiments appears not only in this instance, but in two other learned treatises; which, though nearly relative to the same subject, yet contain a studied difference of opinion easily discerned in them. Xenophon says, that Cyrus was early instructed and versed in the rules and principles of government. Plato asserts, that his education was entirely military, and that he was so much unacquainted with them, and even with his domestic affairs, that he committed the education of his children to women. Xenophon represents Mnemon as a betrayer of the Greeks in their expedition against the Persians: Plato not only vindicates his conduct, but greatly commends it. Many more instances of this kind will occur to those who are acquainted with their writings; in which it is particularly remarkable, that though they were cotemporary, and wrote upon the same subject, Xenophon but once, and then very slightly, mentions the name of Plato, while he never inserts that of Xenophon, though it was almost unavoidable on one occasion, where he enumerates every one then present except him. Hence it is plain, that each cautiously avoided giving to the name of the other that share of immortality which the works of both of them deserve.”

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men of such great and dignified characters, I think it is no cause for supposing they entertained enmity or envy, or that they had any contest for reputation; for such a disposition is far removed from the habits of that philosophy in which these two men, according to the opinion of all, greatly excelled. What then can have given rise to this opinion? Why such an equality of talents, such a similarity of congenial virtues, although the disposition to contend be totally absent, necessarily creates an appearance of rivalry? For when the great abilities of two or more distinguished persons, engaged in the same pursuit, are equal, or nearly so, in estimation, there arises among their different advocates a contest with respect to their different exertions and merits: from such contest the flame of emulation spreads to the parties themselves, and the progress towards the same goal of honour, when equal, or nearly so, is liable to the suspicions of rivalry, not from their own zeal, but from that of their friends. Thence it was that

The reader will also find further illustrations of this subject in Hermogenes de Form. Orat. ii. and in Eusebius Præparatio Evang. 14. Such emulation betwixt individuals living at the same period, with similar and equal claims for public admiration, is neither unnatural nor uncommon. It was the case betwixt Sophocles and Euripides, as well as betwixt Hortensius and Cicero, and of ten thousand others; but, as Quintus Carolus observes, *ad recentis memoriæ exempla ire, quia invidiam habet, non est nostri instituti.*

Xenophon

Xenophon and Plato, the two luminaries of Socratic elegance, were thought to contend as rivals; because, among others, there was a contest to determine which was the more distinguished, and because two eminent characters, who are striving with united force, carry with them the appearance of rivalry.

CHAP. IV.

Chrysippus has, with great propriety and skill, represented the form of Justice in glowing colours and harmonious words.

WITH equal propriety and elegance has Chrysippus, in the first of his treatises, entitled¹, *περί καλῆς καὶ ἡδονῆς*, described the mouth, and eyes, and the whole countenance of the goddess Justice, in a strong and masterly mode of

¹ *Entitled,*]—On Beauty and Pleasure—

The idea of Akenfide, in his second book of the Pleasures of the Imagination, greatly resembles this of Chrysippus—

The prime of age
Composed her steps; the presence of a god,
High on the circle of her brow enthron'd,
From each majestic motion darted awe;
Devoted awe! till, cherished by her looks,
Benevolent and meek, unfading love
To filial rapture softened all the soul;
Free in her graceful hand she poised the sword
Of chaste dominion; an heroic crown
Display'd the old simplicity of pomp
Around her honoured head; a matron's robe,
White as the sunshine streams thro' secret clouds,
Her stately form invested, &c.

See also the fiction of Virtue in Xenophon, and in Silius Italicus.

colouring. He represents her figure, as he says it usually is by old painters and orators, thus: "Her appearance and garb is that of a virgin with a spirited and awful countenance, with penetrating eyes, and a solemn dignified cast of countenance, equally distant from meanness and ferocity." And he wished to inculcate, from the spirit of this representation, that a judge, who is the minister of justice, ought to be a grave, holy, severe, incorrupt character, unassailable by flattery, merciless and inexorable toward the wicked and the guilty, zealous, vigilant, powerful, and terrific, from the force and majesty of equity and truth. Chrysippus's words upon the subject are these: "She is called a virgin as an emblem of her purity, and a proof of her never having given way to wickedness; that she has never been led aside by soothing words, or by prayers, or by flattery, or by any other snare; wherefore she is painted of a grave countenance, with an unshaken and earnest look, steadfastly directing her eye so as to strike the wicked with awe, and to give encouragement to the just: to the latter, as to her friends, she presents an agreeable aspect; to the others, an harsh one." These words of Chrysippus, as they are at hand, and open to our consideration, I have more particularly noted, because some of our more delicate students in philosophy have called this a representation of Cruelty rather than of Justice.

CHAP. V.

Strife and contention of eminent grammarians at Rome on the vocative case of "Egregius."

ONE day, when I was weary with my daily task of making comments, I walked to the field of Agrippa¹ for the purpose of relaxation and amusement. There, meeting with two grammarians of some note at Rome, I became witness to a very violent dispute between them; one contending that the vocative of *egregius* was *egregi*, the other insisting that it was *egregie*. The argument urged by the former was of this kind: "Whatsoever nouns or words," says he, "have their nominative case singular in *us*, the letter *i* coming before the last syllable, in the vocative case end all in *i*, as *Cælius Cæli*, *modius modi*, *tertius terti*, *Accius Acci*, *Titius Titi*, and the like; *egregius*, therefore, as it ends in *us* in the nominative, and *i* precedes the last syllable, ought in the vocative to end in *i*, and *egregi*, therefore, should be used, and not *egregie*. For *divus*, and *rivus*, and *clivus*, do not end in *us*, but in a double *u*, in order to express which a new

¹ *Agrippa*.]—This place was given to the people for a public walk by Augustus Cæsar.

letter is invented, called *F digamma*²." The other, hearing all this, exclaimed, "Oh, you excellent grammarian, (*egregie grammaticæ*) or, if you like it better, most excellent, (*egregissime*) tell me then, I beg, what vocative case have the words *infcus*, *impicus*, *fobrius*, *ebrius*, *proprius*, *propitius*, *anxius*, and *contrarius*, which end in *us*, with *i* preceding the last syllable; modesty and shame forbid me to pronounce these words according to your definition." The other, alarmed at this accumulation of words against him, became silent for a short time; but afterwards collecting himself, he said, "he should retain and defend the rule which he had laid down;" adding, "that *proprius*, and *propitius*, and *anxius*, and *contrarius*, had the same vocative case with *adversarius* and *extrarius*; and that *infcus*, *impicus*, *ebrius*, and *fobrius*, though less frequently, were certainly more properly terminated by *i* rather than *e* in the vocative." As this contest was likely to be prolonged, I scarcely thought it worth while to attend any longer to it, and I left them in clamorous dispute,

² *Digamma*,]—Or double gamma, which seems to be no other than the Greek φ, and was by the Romans used for V. The Emperor Claudius inverted the F thus, Ϝ, in medals and inscriptions.

CHAP. VI.

Of those things which, having the appearance of learning, are neither pleasing nor useful.

A Friend of mine, of some proficiency in literature, and who had passed a great part of his life among books, expressed a wish to assist and ornament my publication, at the same time presenting me with a large volume, which contained, as he said, every kind of learning, and had been collected by him, with much labour, from many different and abstruse courses of reading, that I might extract whatever I thought worthy of being recorded. I accepted his present with eagerness and avidity, as if I had got possession of a *cornu copiae*; and I shut myself up, that I might read without interruption. But the book contained, O Jupiter! a mere collection of strange tales, such as, the name of the first man who was called a grammarian; the number of those named Pythagoras'; how many were called

¹ *Pythagoras*.]—We know of twenty-eight persons called Pythagoras, and of twenty who had the name of Hippocrates.

after Hippocrates; and who were the suitors which Homer speaks of in the habitation of Ulysses; the reason why Telemachus did not touch Pisistratus, who was lying near him, with his hand, but awakened him with a kick of his foot²; in what kind of cradle Euriclea put Telemachus; and why the same poet did not know a rose, but could distinguish an olive from a rose. It contained, likewise, the names of those companions of Ulysses who were seized and torn by Scylla³; the question whether Ulysses failed by the outer passage, according to Aristarchus, or by the inner, according to Crates. Moreover,

² *Foot,*]—The passage in the *Odyssæy* is—

Αὐτὰρ ὁ Νέστοριδην ἐξήδεος ὕπνου ἔρπειεν
λαξ ποδὶ χινησας.

Literally thus: But he roused the son of Nestor from sweet sleep, shaking him with his heel.

Pope overlooks this peculiarity, and renders the passage—

Meanwhile Pisistratus he gently shakes,
And with these words the slumbering youth awakes.

³ *Scylla,*]—See this question, on the vanity, intemperance, and folly of some enquiries admirably handled in the eighty-eighth epistle of Seneca—

Quæris ubi Ulysses erraverit, potius quam efficias ne nos semper erremus? non vacat audire utrum inter Italiam et Siciliam jactatus sit ad extra notum nobis orbem, neque enim potuit in tam angusto error esse tam longus, &c.

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it contained the verses of Homer called *ισοψηφοί* *,
(equally balanced) and a catalogue of names,

Παραστιχίς,

* *ισοψηφοί*,]—That is literally, *equinumeral*, from *ισος*, equal, and *ψηφος*, a pebble, such as the ancients used in counting; which, being in Latin called *calculus*, gave the origin to the word *calculation*. It is difficult, as some of the commentators acknowledge, to attend with any patience to the extreme trifling of the old grammarians on the subject of Homer. This is among the most remarkable instances. The Greek letters being used also as numerals, they thought it worth while to enquire, in what verses of Homer the several letters, cast up together as figures, produced equal numbers. These verses they called *equinumeral*, some of which are noticed by various authors. In this way of counting, it has been curiously made out, that *רמקל*, *Romikl* in Hebrew, and *Ααλςυος* in Greek, form exactly the number 666; which, being the number of the beast in the Revelations, is supposed to prove the Roman Church *Antichrist*. The Romanists have, it is true, endeavoured to take revenge, by discovering that *Martin Lauter*, or *Luther*, counts to the same sum: but then it must be owned, that to do so they are obliged to give the Latin letters the force of the Greek numerals. Some of the Fathers thought the name of the Nile had a mystical reference to the year, because the letters N. 50. E. 5. I. 10. A 30. O. 70. Σ 200, make up precisely 365, forgetting that *Νεῖλος* is a Greek word, and that the river was not named by Greeks. Eustathius mentions this also in his comment on Dionysius. The more modern trifling of constructing numeral verses, purposely to express certain dates, is at least as ingenious as these Greek fancies. In these, such letters only are counted as are numerals in the Roman method of notation, the rest are passed over as insignificant. Thus *aVdaCes Mors CæCa neCat*, was supposed to mark the date of the death of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, namely, 1405.

Some

Παραστιχίς⁵, mentioned there. Likewise what verse there is, which in every succeeding word increases

Some have been made in French, as the following inscription for a hotel built by Charles VIII.

aV teMps dV roi Charle Le hVlt
CestVI hoſteL ſi fVt ConſtrVlt.

Which gives the date of the building, 1485. The French, it may be observed, is antiquated. It is not worth while to dwell more upon such trifles.

⁵ Παραστιχίς,]—*line by line*. This is on the principle of the acrostic; the initial letters of successive lines being put together to make a word: acrostic is indeed itself of Greek derivation and origin, from ἀκρος, an *extremity*, and στίχος, a *verse*. Eustathius tells us it was remarked, that the five first lines of the last book of the Iliad form, in this manner, the word ΛΕΥΚΗ, the initial words being Ἀντο, Εὐκιδίαν, Ὑπε, Κλαίε, and Ηῆσι. It is probable that other discoveries, no less important, might be made on other books, were the same attention bestowed. Cicero, in his second book of Divination, chap. 54, speaks of a kind of poem called, παραστιχίς, “quum deinceps ex primis versus literis aliquid connectitur, ut in quibusdam Ennianis.”—“*When something is formed from the regular connection of the first letters in each verse, as in some composed by Ennius.*” And he intimates that some of the Sibylline verses were so constructed. Eusebius, in the oration of Constantine, gives a set of verses as taken from the Sibylline oracles, in which the initials form ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ—*Jesus Christ, Son of God, the Saviour*. St. Austin also mentions that such verses were extant. Similar in some measure to this is the formation of names from the initials of certain words. Thus, from the very words above cited as descriptive of Christ, was formed the word ΙΧΘΥΣ, which

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increases a syllable; by what rule each head of cattle produces three every year; of the five
cover-

which signifying a fish, that animal was considered as mystically representing Christ, and the word itself esteemed a sacred term. Thus FERT, the family device of the Counts of Savoy, is explained by some to be formed from the words *Fortitudo Ejus Rhodum Tenuit*, in allusion to an exploit performed by one of the family; and, in our own country, the term CABAL was formed from the names of five noblemen; *Clifford, Asbley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale*; "than which," says Hume, "never was a more dangerous ministry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious councils." An. 1670.—In the editions of Plautus we have arguments to each play, attributed by some to Priscian, which are acrostics; the first letters forming the name of the comedy of which the lines give the argument. Many fancies of this kind have been tried by idle wits. Some have made the beginnings and ends of the lines significant, and some the middle letters also. Others have the initials of the words in a distich to form a name altogether, as Placentius is formed here, without the two last words,

Plura Latent Animo Celata, Et Non Temeranda
Judicis Ullius Scilicet, hoc volui.

But of this enough.

I have already remarked, that when the letters of two verses, numerically considered, denote the same aggregate number, they are called *ισοψηφοι*. Oiselius, in his note used by Gronovius, quotes two instances from Homer. These the reader may easily refer to, both in the edition of Gronovius and that of Conrad; but as it is less common, I cannot help introducing an epigram quoted by Muretus, in his various readings,

coverings of the shield of Achilles, whether the outer one or the middle was made of gold; and what

readings, from the Anthology, which tends to elucidate this subject of *ισοψηφοι* verses—

Δαμαγοραν και λοιμον ισοψηφον τις ακυσας
 Εστιησ' αμφοτερων τον τροπον εκ κανονος.
 Εις το μερος δε καθειλκετ' ανελκυσθεν το ταλαντον
 Δαμαγορε, λοιμον δ' ευρεν ελαφροτερον.

The above epigram is a jest upon some worthless fellow of the name of Damagoras, whose name was equinumeral with the Greek word for Pest. A person weighed in a balance Damagoras against the Pest, and found that the Pest was lighter, doubtless because the letters were fewer, though equinumeral. The numerals are cast up thus :

δ	=	4	λ	=	30
α	=	1	ο	=	70
μ	=	40	ι	=	10
α	=	1	μ	=	40
γ	=	3	ο	=	70
ο	=	70	ς	=	200
ρ	=	100			
α	=	1			420
ς	=	200			
		<hr/>			
		420			

The grammarians have given the name of Rhophalic to such verses as begin with a monosyllable, and progressively increase, as—

Rem tibi concessi doctissime dulcisonoram.

See

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what names of cities and countries had undergone a change, as Bœotia, which was formerly called Aonia; Ægypt, which was called Aeria; and Crete, by the same name Aeria; Attica was Acte, and poetically Acta; Corinth, Ephyre; the coast of Macedonia, Æmathia; Thessaly, Hæmonia; Tyre, Sarra; Thrace, Sithon; and Sestos, Poseidonium. These and many other such things were contained in this book, which I instantly hastened to return to him, and said, "I give you joy, Sir, of this variety of learning; but take again your precious volume, which has no sort of concern with my humble sphere of literature; for this publication of mine, which you would willingly assist and adorn, seeks support chiefly from

See Servius in Putsch. p. 1826; and Salmasius ad Solinum, as quoted by Gesner. See also a line quoted by Muretus from Homer:

Ω μαχαρ Ατρείδῃ μοῖρηγενες οὐβιόδαιμων.

A climax of a different kind, if not afraid of disturbing the reader's gravity, may be pointed out from the Σφηκις of Aristophanes. See the lines corrected by Dawes in his *Miscellanea Critica*.—Edit. Burgess.

· Ατρεμας πρωτον ΠΑΞ κατα ΠΑΠΑΞ επαξει καπειτα ΠΑΠΑΠΠΑΞ
Χωταν χιζω κομιδη βροτα ΠΑΠΑΠΑΠΑΞ ωππερ ικιναι.

These lines are facetiously intended by Aristophanes to denote the progress of a crepitus.

that

that one line of Homer which Socrates says pleased him beyond all things :

Every thing either of good or ill which awaits you in your family.

CHAP. VII¹.

Marcus Varro gave to Pompey, when first elected consul, a commentary, which he called, " Isagogicum de officio senatus habendi."

CNÆUS Pompey was elected consul the first time with Marcus Crassus. When Pompey was about to enter upon his office, as, having passed his time in camps, he was ignorant of senatorial forms and the city manners, he requested his friend Marcus Varro to frame him a written directory, (Varro calls it *commentarium εισαγωγικον*) from which he might learn the du-

¹ Every thing which relates to the Roman senate, the right and manner of convoking it, and the places in which it assembled, is so agreeably and amply discussed by Middleton, in his treatise on the Roman senate, as to render my saying any thing on this and the subsequent chapter not only unnecessary but impertinent.

ties of his office, when he convened the senate. This book, which he had drawn up for Pompey upon this subject, Varro says, in the letters which he wrote to Oppianus, was lost: these are in the fourth book of Epistolary Questions. He here repeats many things on this subject, as what he had said before had perished.

The first thing he mentions is, who those persons were by whom the senate was accustomed to be convened: he calls them the dictator, the consuls, the prætor, the tribune of the people, the interrex, and the præfect of the city; and, except these, no other had a right of demanding a consultation of the senate; and, as often as it happened that all these magistrates were at the same time at Rome, then, according to the order in which they are arranged, he who is the first has the greatest right of consulting the senate. He adds, that the military tribunes, who, by an extraordinary privilege, acted as proconsuls, also the decemvirs, who were invested with consular power, and the triumvirs, who were appointed to regulate the state, had the power of consulting the senate. He afterwards discussed the subject of intercessions; and he said, that the right of interceding belonged to those only who possessed equal or higher power than those who had authority to consult the senate. He then wrote upon the places in which a consultation of the senate could lawfully take place; and he proved,

ed, that this could not happen but in the place appointed by the augurs, and called the temple; therefore temples were constituted by the augurs in the Hostilian or Pompeian hall, and afterward in the Julian, which were profane places, that the senate might there assemble according to ancient custom. Amongst these remarks he observed, that all sacred houses were not temples; that the house of Vesta was not a temple. After this he proceeds to say, that a consultation of the senate, holden before sun rise or after sun-set, was not according to established forms; and that they who consulted the senate at such periods were liable to be called to account by the censors. He then speaks much upon what days were illegal for assembling the senate; and that he who was about to convene the senate ought to sacrifice a victim and take the auspices; and that all religious matters were to be referred to the senate before they entered upon political subjects, then matters of general concern to the state, afterwards the affairs of individuals. He added, that a decree of the senate was passed in two forms, either by the departure of those who consented, or, if the case were doubtful, by calling for the opinion of each; but that every one was to be separately consulted in his turn, beginning with those of consular rank, from which rank formerly the eldest was first asked his sentiments. Having said this, he adds, that a new custom has been instituted through
K 2
interest

interest and partiality, by which he was first appealed to, whom the mover of the senate preferred, though still he must be of consular dignity. He spoke likewise much upon the subject of taking bribes, and of the fine to be inflicted upon any senator who was not present when he ought to be. These and other such subjects as I have mentioned, Marcus Varro touched upon in his letter to Oppianus; but as to the two forms of conducting the consultations of the senate, either by their departure, or by collecting their sentiments, this seems to be scarcely consistent with the opinion left by Atticus Capito in his Miscellaneous Observations; for in his 259th book he says, that Tubero affirmed, that no consultation of the senate could be regular without the form of division; because, in all their consultations, even in those which took place *per relationem*, a division was necessary; and Capito confirms this opinion. But I remember to have written more fully and more particularly upon all this business in another place.

C H A P. VIII.

Enquiry whether the præfect of the Latin holidays had the right of convening and consulting the senate.

JUNIUS denies that a præfect of the Latin holidays has a right to convene the senate, since he is not a senator, and has no power of giving his opinion, because he becomes a præfect at an age when he is inadmissible to the senate. But Marcus Varro, in the 4th of his Epistolary Questions, and Atteius Capito, in the 259th of his Observations, affirm that the præfect has the power of convening the senate, and refers us, in opposition to Mutius, to Capito's assent to the opinion of Tubero; "For," says he, "before Atinius's law for assembling the people, their tribunes had the power of convening the senate, although they were not senators."

B O O K XV.

CHAP. I.

In the annals of Quintus Claudius it is said, that wood rubbed with alum does not take fire.

ANTONIUS Julian, the rhetorician, had one day in particular declaimed, to the unusual delight and gratification of his hearers. His subjects were generally of the scholastic kind, the work of the same skilful orator, adorned with the same eloquence, but not always productive of the same pleasure. A party of us, who were his friends, pressed round, and were attending him home¹, when, arriving at the Cispian Hill, we saw a large building on fire: it was constructed with many

¹ *Attending him home.*]—It was customary at Rome for men of distinguished rank, or of superior character for eloquence or other talents, to be attended in public by a number of friends and followers. This we learn from many places in the writings of Cicero and others, and this passage also confirms it.

huge

huge wooden planks, and all the vicinity was in flames. Some one of Julian's companions immediately observed, that though the profits of farming near the city were great, yet the dangers were much greater; "and if," said he, "any mode could be invented to prevent houses in Rome catching fire so easily², I would immediately sell my country possessions, and purchase a situation in the city." Julian then, with that pleasant countenance which in conversation he always assumed, "If," said he, "you had read the 19th of Claudius's Annals, a most excellent and faithful author, Archelaus, one of king Mithridates's commanders, would have shewn you by what contrivance and skill you might prevent fire, so that no wooden edifice, though attacked and penetrated by flames, would yet catch fire." I then enquired about this wonderful matter. He repeated, that in a publication of Quadrigarius he had found, that when, in Attica, Lucius Sylla attacked the Piræus, and Archelaus, a general of king Mithridates, de-

² *Catching fire so easily.*]—See Juvenal, Sat. 3, and Johnson's imitation in his poem called London:

Nam quid tam miserum tam solum vidimus, et non
Deterius credas horrere incendia, &c.

Fires were very frequent at Rome. In Nero's time was a conflagration which continued, according to Seneca, for six days.

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fended it, a wooden tower, constructed to protect the besieged, though surrounded by flames, did not catch fire, because it had been rubbed by Archelaus with alum³. The words of Quadrigarius are these: "Then Sylla made an attempt, bringing out his troops, after a long time, to set fire to a wooden tower which Archelaus had constructed between them. He came, he approached the place, he put wood under it, he beat off the Greeks, he applied the flames, and after they

³ *With alum.*]—See a similar fact recorded in Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xv. c. 1.

Machinas Romanorum Persæ exurere vi magna nitebantur, et assidue malleolos atque incendiaria tela torquentes laborabant incessum, ea re, quod humectis furtis et centonibus erant opertæ materiæ plures, aliæ unctæ alumine diligenter, ut ignis per eos laboretur innoxius.

The ancients had a great opinion of the efficacy of vinegar to extinguish fires, as appears from Plutarch, *Sympos.* l. 3. q. 5. and Macrobius, *Saturn.* l. 7. c. 6. which last writer says—

"*Quid aceto frigidius; solum enim hoc ex omnibus humentibus crescentem flammam violenter extinguit, dum per frigus suum calorem vincit elementi.*"

The great men at Rome had slaves, whose business was to watch the house in the night, to prevent fire and the depredations of thieves. This we may perhaps understand from a passage in Juvenal, *Sat.* 14. 306.

*Dispositis prædives hamis vigilare cohortem
Servorum noctu Licinus jubet, attonitus pro
Electro, signisque suis, Phrygiaque columna,
Atque ebore, et lata testudine, dolia nudi
Non ardent cynici.*

had

had long attempted it, they could not set it on fire, Archelaus had so covered the whole fabric with alum; at which Sylla and his soldiers were astonished; but as he could not effect his purpose, he drew off his forces."

CHAP. II.

Plato, in his tract "de legibus," was of opinion, that encouragements to drink more copiously at feasts were not without their use.

A Person from the Isle of Crete, passing some time at Athens, professed himself a Platonic philosopher, and wished to pass for such. He was a foolish trifling fellow, a boaster of his knowledge in Greek, and, moreover, he was so devoted to wine as to become a perfect laughing stock for drunkenness. In some entertainments which we young men regularly held every month at Athens, as soon as we had finished eating, and some instructive and pleasant topics of conversation were introduced, this man, having demanded silence, began to speak; and then, in a sort of vulgar and undisciplined rabble of words,

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words, he called upon people to drink, and this, he said, he did according to the laws of Plato, as if Plato, in his treatise "de Legibus," had written most copiously in praise of drunkenness¹, and had pronounced it a proper thing for grave and valiant men; and, during his harangue, he deluged all the wit he had in frequent and copious potations, affirming, that for the body and mind to be inflamed with wine proved an incentive to the genius, and a stimulus to virtue. Plato, in his first and second book "de Legibus," has not, indeed, as this foolish fellow conceived, commended that disgraceful intemperance which undermines and impairs the minds of men, but he has not disapproved of that more cheerful invitation to wine, which is regulated by certain bounds, and conducted by temperate presidents and regulators² of the entertainment. For he thought that men's minds, by the moderate and proper

¹ *In praise of drunkenness.*]—Consult on this subject Plato himself de Legibus, l. 2. and l. 6—See also Laertius, l. 3. sect. 39, where we find that Plato desired drunken people to look at themselves in a glass, that they might judge of their disgusting appearance: "At no time," says Laertius, "did Plato recommend men to drink wine till they were intoxicated; except on the days sacred to the god *Διός το οίνου*; the giver of wine. Thus Plato also expresses himself, and Athenæus quotes the passage, l. 3.

² *Presidents and regulators.*]—Arbitris et magistris conviviorum. This alludes to the well known custom of the ancients of

proper relaxations of drinking, were refreshed and refitted for the duties of a sober station, and that they became thus by degrees more happy, and better qualified for the pursuit of any of their wonted objects. He likewise thought, if there were any latent errors in their affections or desires, which shame concealed, that, by the licence which wine gave, these were developed without any great danger, and became more obvious to correction or cure. Plato, in the same place, says, that these exercises are not to be shunned, in order to conquer the power of wine; for that no one can be truly called moderate and temperate whose life and practice has never been tried among the dangers of dissipation and the allurements of pleasure; for he to whom all the gratifications and the elegancies of the table are

of appointing a master of the feast, called indifferently *magister convivii* and *arbiter bibendi*. This was sometimes determined by dice. See Horace—

Regna vini sortiére talis.

And again—

*Quem Venus arbitrum
Dicet bibendi.*

See also in St. Matthew the passage wherein our Saviour directs the wine to be carried to the master of the feast.

The person thus elected was crowned with a garland, which, as all the guests wore garlands, was probably distinguished by some particular ornaments. He was sometimes also called *Rex*.

unknown,

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unknown, if, unexperienced, he is led to a participation of them, either willingly, or by chance, or by necessity, he is instantly infatuated and seduced, his mind and his resolution give way, and he falls from the novelty of the attack. He thought, therefore, it was adviseable to frequent such meetings, and to contend hand to hand, as in an army, with pleasure and the indulgence of wine, that men might be safe, not by flight or abstinence, but by vigorous resolutions and constant attention; that by proper indulgence we may preserve our temperance and moderation, and at the same time disperse, by warming and cherishing the mind, the attacks of frigid austerity and stupid bashfulness.

CHAP. III.

Cicero's opinion of the particle au, prefixed to aufugio and aufero, and whether it is the same preposition which occurs in autumo.

I Have read a book of Cicero, entitled the Orator, in which, after the author has said that the words *aufugio* and *aufero* are compounded of the preposition *ab* and *fugio* and *fero*, but that this preposition, in order to make the pronunciation softer, was changed into *au*, and that the words then became *aufugio* and *aufero* instead of *abfugio* and *abfero*; having, I say, made this remark, he afterwards, speaking of the same particle, says, "this preposition is found in no other word except these two." But in Nigidius's commentaries I find the word *autumo* compounded of the preposition *ab* and *estumo*, and *autumo* is contracted from *abestumo*, which has the intensive signification of "*totum estumo*," like "*abnumero*." But with much reverence be it spoken for this very learned man, Publius Nigidius, this appears more bold and ingenious than true; for *autumo* has not this signification only, but it means *dico*, *opinor*, *censeo*, with which words

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that preposition has no connection, either in the formation of the word, or expression of it's meaning. Besides, Cicero, a man of the most unwearied industry in literary pursuits, would not have said ' that those were the only two words, if a third could have been found. But what appears most worthy of enquiry is, whether the preposition *ab* be changed into *au*, to soften the pronunciation, or whether the particle *au* be, like many other prepositions, derived from the Greek, as indeed we find it in that line of Homer—

* *Αὐ ἔρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἐσφαζάν καὶ εἰδῖραν.*

* *Have said.*]—The passage referred to in Cicero is this—

Quid si etiam abfugit, turpe visum est; et abser noluerunt; quæ præpositio, præter hæc duo verba, nullo alio in verbo reperitur.

CHAP. IV.

Story of Ventidius Bassus, a man of mean birth, who, first, as it is related, triumphed over the Parthians.

IT was mentioned in the conversation of some old and learned men, that in ancient times, many individuals, though of ignoble birth and mean situations, had yet arrived at the most dignified offices of the state; nothing, however, excited more admiration than what was recorded of Ventidius Bassus. He was born at Picenum¹, of low extraction, and his mother, together with himself, was made a prisoner by Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, in the social war, wherein he overcame the Asculani; and when Pompeius Strabo triumphed, he was carried with the rest before the chariot of the general, an infant, in his mother's arms. Afterwards, when he grew up, he with difficulty procured a livelihood, and that in the lowest way, by furnishing

¹ *Picenum.*]—Famous for its “Poma” of one kind or other—

Cum Picenis excerpens femina pomis
Gaudens.

It yet retains some vestige of its ancient name, being called Bicen^{za}.

mules and carriages to those officers who were appointed to the government of provinces, for whom he hired them. In this occupation he became known to Caius Cæsar, and went with him into Gaul. There, because he conducted himself in that province with some skill and dexterity, and afterwards executed some commissions in the civil war with punctuality and vigour, he not only was advanced to the honour of Cæsar's friendship, but elevated to the highest rank in the state; he was created tribune of the people, and afterwards prætor. At that time he was proclaimed an enemy by the senate, together with Mark Anthony; but upon a junction of parties, he not only recovered his former dignity, but became, first, pontiff, and then consul. The Roman people, however, who had remembered Ventidius Bassus getting his livelihood by taking care of mules, were so indignant at this, that the following verses^a were written up in the streets—

^a *Following verses.*]—The story here related of this Bassus is to be found in a multitude of ancient writers.

It is to this man probably that Seneca alludes, when he says, in his 47th epistle—

Erras si existimas me quosdam quasi sordidioris operæ re-
jecturum, ut puta illum mulionem et illum bubulcum; nec
ministeriis illos æstimabo, sed moribus.

See also Juvenal, sat. 7.

Si fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
Si volet hæc eadem, fies de consule rhetor;
Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? &c.

I.o!

Lo! he who was the muleteer of late!
 Priests, augurs, ye who know the will of fate,
 How came this rascal by the consulate?

Suetonius Tranquillus records, that this same Bassus was made governor of the Eastern provinces by Mark Antony; and that the Parthians, invading Syria, were routed by him in three battles. He was the first who triumphed over the Parthians; and, at his death, was honoured by a public funeral¹.

¹ *Public funeral.*]—There were three kinds of public funeral among the Romans. When a person was buried at the public expence, it was called, by way of distinction, *funus publicum*. Other public funerals were called, *indicativum censorium*, &c.

CHAP. V.

Profligo often used improperly and ignorantly.

AS there are many words which, through the ignorance and stupidity of people who speak what they do not understand, become perverted and corrupted from their right and original meaning, so has the signification of the word *profligo* suffered a similar change and corruption; for as it is derived from *adfligendo*, and means "bringing any thing to destruction and annihilation," so people used *profligare* to express (*prodigere* and *deperdere*) to destroy, and they called "*res profligatas*," "*proflitas* and *perditas*," cast down and destroyed; but now I hear of edifices and temples, though in a state of almost perfect preservation, being *in profligato* and *profligata*. It was with a good deal of humour, therefore, that a prætor once, of some learning, gave the following reply to a youngster at the bar¹, as Sulpitius Apollinaris has told the story in one of his

¹ *Youngster at the bar.*]—In the edition of Gronovius, *barvasculo*, and it is sometimes read *barbatulus*. Cicero, in one of his epistles to Atticus, uses the word *barbatulus*.

Concurfabant barbatuli juvenes, totus ille grex Catilinæ.

letters:

letters: "when an impudent prater," says he, "had made use of these words in his pleadings; 'all the causes of which you said you would take cognizance to day, such has been your assiduity and expedition, are over, (*profligata sunt*) one only remains, to which I request your attention.' The prætor then, with some wit, replied, 'Whether the business which you say I have now transacted be (*profligata*) all over or not, I cannot say, but past a doubt *it is all over with* that which now falls into your hands, whether I hear it or not.'" They, however, who wish to express the meaning which is here given to *profligatum*, if they speak good Latin², use not *profligatum* but *affectum*, as Marcus Cicero, in his

² *Good Latin.*]—See Gellius, book 3. chap. 17. where the same observation is made. I find an acute remark in the *Admonitiones Christiani Falsteri* upon this subject, which vindicates Gellius from the censures of some critics, who blame him for not calling those words pure Latin, for which there is the authority of Cicero, Livy, Tacitus, &c. *Qui Latine loquuti sunt*, Falsterus thinks is applied by Gellius to those who lived before the time of Cicero; for example, Scipio, Cato, Quadrigarius, Metellus, Piso, the Gracchi, &c. Cicero, in his 15th letter of the 9th book of *Familiar Epistles*, complains, that in his time the purity of the Latin language began to be corrupted by the introduction of a foreign jargon. His expression is, *peregrinitatem in urbem Romanam infusam*; Gellius, therefore, seems to have been censured without sufficient reason. See the *Admonitions of Christianus Falsterus ad Interpretes A. Gellii*.

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speech upon the consular provinces. His words are these: "We find the war (*adfectum*) disastrously proceeding, and, to say the truth, almost ruinously concluded" (*confectum*). So, in a passage following, "For why should Cæsar wish to remain in that province, unless it be to deliver to the republic a completion of that ruin which he has begun" (*ut ea quæ per eum affecta sunt, perfecta reip. tradat*). So Cicero, in his *Œconomics*, "When now the summer declining, it is the time for the grapes to ripen in the sun" (*affecta jam propè æstate*).

CHAP. VI.

In Cicero's second book "de Gloria," there is a manifest error in what is written of Hector and Ajax.

IN Tully's second book de Gloriâ there is an obvious mistake, but of no great consequence. Not every man, however, though learned, would detect this mistake, unless he had read the 7th book of Homer; for which reason I do not so much wonder that Tully committed the error, as that it was not observed and corrected afterwards either by himself or his freedman Tiro, who was a very learned man, and very attentive to every work of his patron's. There is in that book the following passage concerning Homer: "Ajax, about to engage with Hector, expresses a wish that if conquered he may obtain funeral rites, and declares, that he would have passengers who pass his tomb speak thus of him:

"Beneath this tomb a valiant soldier lies,
Hector alone from him could bear the prize;
Thus ever to my name shall glory rise."

Now

* *Beneath this tomb.*]—The lines are from the seventh Iliad, and I have endeavoured literally to translate them, but I

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Now these verses which Cicero translates into Latin are not delivered by Ajax, nor is it he who pleads for burial; but Hector delivers them, and speaks of his opponent's funeral before he knows whether Ajax will engage with him.

shall also subjoin Pope's version, which is certainly very diffuse :

Greece on the shore shall raise a monument,
Which when some future mariner surveys,
Washed by broad Hellespont's resounding seas,
Thus shall he say: "A valiant Greek lies there,
By Hector slain, the mighty man of war."
The stone shall tell your vanquished hero's name,
And distant ages learn the victor's fame.

Pope does not often present us with such imperfect rhymes as surveys and seas, there and war.

In Homer's time the tombs of the heroes who fought at Troy were still to be seen on the shores of the Hellespont; which as Pope, in his note from Eustathius, observes, probably suggested the hint of the above lines:

Cicero's expression in his translation is,

Vitæ jam pridem lumina linquens.

He uses a similar one in a fragment in his book de Divinatione:

Vitæ lumina linquens;

Or, as it is in Olivet's edition of Cicero,

Vitalia lumina linquens.

Virgil also uses the term *lumina vitæ* :

Si lumina vitæ

Attigerint.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

*It is observed of old men, that their sixty-third year is either marked by trouble, or death, or some signal calamity. An example taken from a letter from Augustus to his adopted son Caius*¹.

IT has been noticed by many people, and experienced by almost all old men, that the sixty-third year of life is attended with some danger or disaster to the body, some grievous disorder, and either with loss of life or injury of mind. People, therefore, who are engaged in the study of such things and words, call this year of life the climacteric. The night before last, when I was reading Augustus's epistles² to his grandson Caius, and I was led on by the free and unstudied elegance of the style, easy and simple, not laboured and austere, I found this very observation upon the year I have mentioned. His letter is this: "October 9th. I salute you, my

¹ Consult Gellius, book 3. chapter 10. on the power and qualities imputed by the ancients to certain numbers, and to the number seven in particular. My note at that chapter renders my delaying the reader in this place unnecessary.

² *Augustus's epistles.*]—We learn from Suetonius, that Augustus wrote various things besides epistles, many fragments of which are collected by Rutgerfius, and may be seen in the second book of his Various Readings, chap. 19.

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Caius, as the dearest object³ of my affection, whose absence from me, whenever it happens, I most sincerely regret; but particularly on such a day as this my eyes are eager to behold my Caius. Wherever you now are, may you with happiness and health celebrate my 64th birthday, for you see I have escaped the usual climacteric of old men, the 63d year; and I pray to God, that whatever time may remain to me, it may be prolonged to see your welfare; and that while the republic is in it's most flourishing state, with a becoming spirit you may succeed to the burthens of my station."

³ *Dearest object.*]—Literally, my dearest little eye, a phrase which was in general considered as amorous, and is so applied by Catullus, and other writers of that stamp. Augustus, it seems, used a method of writing letters, which rendered them entirely unintelligible, except to those to whom they were addressed. Thus, for example; he put the next letter succeeding, as, *b* for *a*, *c* for *b*, and so on; at the close he put two *aa*'s for *x*, thus, *aa*.—See Rutgerfius, the place before cited, and Dio Cassius, book 2. whom indeed Rutgerfius quotes. The reader may also consult Suetonius in *Vita Augusti*, sect. 88.

Julius Cæsar also, as appears from the same author, *Vit. Jul.* sect. 56. had some such method of corresponding with his friends; he used the fourth letter (*quartam elementorum literam*) as *d* for *a*.

CHAP. VIII.

Passage from a speech of Favorinus, an old orator, containing an invective on luxurious entertainments, delivered by him when he recommended the Licinian law in restraining expences.

WHEN I read an old oration of Favorinus, a man of some eloquence, I learnt the whole of it, that I might remember how odious are the expences and luxuries of which he speaks in the following manner: "Caterers and ministers of luxury deny that any entertainment is elegant, unless when you have eaten a great deal your dish is taken away, and something else more high and dainty is brought; for that is considered as the highest pitch of luxury with them, when expence and daintiness take place of elegance. They say, you ought not to eat the whole of any bird except the *ficedula*¹; and they add, that your

¹ *Ficedula*.]—That the *ficedula* was esteemed a great delicacy at the Roman tables is sufficiently known. The *ficedula* was a bird like a nightingale, and its literal interpretation is a fig-eater. A long account of the mode of dressing it may be seen in the edition of Apicius by Lister. Martial speaks of the rump being of the highest repute as a delicacy. It is certainly not the nightingale, but the *beccafico*, the name of which signifies the very same, and is still esteemed a delicacy in Italy. See Martial, xiii. 49. who says, as it eats grapes also it should rather be called *uvedula*, the grape being the more worthy fruit. The Italian dictionaries, under *beccafico*, have *ficedula* as its interpretation.

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entertainment is vulgar, unless you provide so many birds and fatted fowls, that your guests may be satisfied with the rumps and the hinder part; for as for the other parts of birds and fowls, they who eat them are thought to have no taste. If luxury shall continue to increase in its present proportion, what will be left but that men should find persons to eat for them, to prevent the fatigues of their meal, since their couches of gold² and silver, and their purple robe, are more superbly ornamented for the use of some men, than for the altars of the immortal gods."

² *Couches of gold.*] —The progress of refinement and luxury was probably much the same at Rome as in other great nations. In their infancy they were a modest, temperate, and frugal people; in their decline, voluptuous, effeminate, and profuse. In this respect, the human character in general seems much the same with the characters of nations; industry invigorates, poverty hardens, wealth relaxes, and luxury corrupts:

Rank abundance breeds,
In gross and pampered nations, sloth, and lust,
And wantonness, and gluttonous excess.

John Meursius has written a tract, which he calls *Roma Luxurians*, that is, on the luxury of the Romans; wherein, among other things, he mentions their couches of ivory and even of gold; that is, we suppose, gilt; for Pliny, book 33, chap. 11. speaks of couches of silver with something like astonishment.

CHAP. IX.

Cæcilius the poet used "frons" in the masculine gender, not by poetic licence, but with propriety and by analogy.

WITH propriety and spirit has Cæcilius, in his Substitute, written—

"Nam hi sunt inimici pessimi¹ fronte hilaro,
Corde tristi, quos neque ut adprehendas neque
ut mittas, scias."

Hard is the task to guard against his wiles,
Who cheats with heart averse and hollow
smiles.

I quoted these lines in a company of young men of learning, when we were speaking of a

¹ *Pessimi.*]—A similar expression may be found in Tacitus. See the Life of Agricola, 41. 1.

Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est; causa periculi non crimen, aut querela læsi cujusquam, sed insensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri, ac *pessimum inimicorum genus* laudantes.

Like this also is the sentiment of Achilles in Homer—

Who dare think one thing and another tell,
My soul detests them as the gates of hell.

See also Augustin de Civitate Dei, l. 19. and Cicero de Amicitia, as quoted by Gronovius in his edition of Gellius.

character

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character of this sort. One who was present, a grammarian of the common stamp, but a man of some rank, said, "What a licentious and impudent fellow was this Cæcilius, to say *fronte*² *bilaro*, and not *bilarâ*, without shrinking from so gross a solecism."—"Rather," replied I, "how licentious and impudent are we, who improperly and ignorantly assert that *frontem* is not the masculine gender, since the rule of proportion called analogy, and the authority of the ancients, testify that we ought to say, not *banc*, but *hunc frontem*; for Cato, in the 5th of his *Origines*, has this passage: '*Postridie signis collatis a quo fronte peditatu, equitibus, atque aliis, cum hostium legionibus pugnavit.*' In the same book too, Cato has *recto fronte*." "But," says this half-learned grammarian, "away with your authorities, which, perhaps, you may possess, and give us a little reason, which it seems you do not possess." Irritated a little at this expression, as was natural from my age, "Attend," said I, "learned Sir, to my reasoning, which, however false it may be, you cannot confute. All words ending in the three same letters as *frons* are of the masculine gender, if they are terminated in the genitive like *mons*,

* *Fronte.*]—The word about which there is a dispute in this chapter was used in both genders by the best writers. See Nonius Marcellus.

Virgil says, *frontem obscenam*; Cato de re militari uses *fronte longo*; and *coloratum frontem* occurs in Plautus.

pons, fons." He, on the other hand, still supporting his cause, said, "but there are, young man, several similar words not of the masculine gender." Every one then called upon him to mention only one; but he, throwing himself into different attitudes, could not open his lips, and even changed colour. I then interfered: "Go," said I, "take thirty days to find this; and having found it, give us the meeting." So we sent away this ignorant man to hunt for a word, by the help of which he might do away the effect of the termination.

CHAP. X.

The strange and voluntary death of certain Milesian virgins¹.

PLUTARCH, in his first treatise upon the soul, when speaking of certain habits which take possession of the human mind, has mentioned that the Milesian virgins (nearly all of them that were in the city) on a sudden, with-

¹ This story of the Milesian virgins is also to be found in Plutarch's tract on the Virtues of Women.

The Romans, frequent as the crime of suicide was among them, endeavoured to mark their general abhorrence of it by disgracing the dead bodies of those who destroyed themselves: no rites of sepulture were allowed to the self-murderer.

Virgil, in his twelfth *Æneid*, brands this crime with the epithet of *informe*—

Purpureos moritura manu descendit amictus,
Et nodum informis leti trabe nectit ab alta.

Heyne, at this passage, calls this kind of death *heroicum et tragicum*, that is frequent in the ancient Greek poets and tragedians. Jocasta hanged herself, so did Epicaste and Anticlea the mother of Ulysses, and Clite and Phædra, &c. See also Bayle, in his dictionary, at the article *Abdera*. Montaigne also tells this story, and calls the principle which induced the Milesian virgins thus to destroy themselves a furious compact.

out

out any apparent cause, took the resolution of dying, and that many actually hanged themselves. As this disposition daily increased, and no remedy could prevent their determination to die, the Milesians decreed, that the virgins who should thus hang themselves should be carried to their funeral naked, with the same rope that hanged them. After this decree the young women desisted from their suicide, deterred only by the shame of meeting with such dishonourable interment.

CHAP. XI.

Form of the senatorial decree for banishing philosophers from Rome; also the decree of the censor, by which they were censured and restrained who instituted and taught rhetoric at Rome.*

IN the consulate of Caius Fannius, Strabo, and Marcus Valerius Messala, a consultation of the senate was holden concerning the Latin philosophers and teachers of rhetoric.

Marcus

* The difficulties which the art of rhetoric had to encounter on it's first introduction at Rome, are explained by Suetonius in his tract de Claris Rhetoribus, where the decree detailed in this chapter is also quoted. See also Bayle, at the article Fannius. Consult also Tertullian, p. 397, Havercamp's edition. I subscribe his words:

Quis poetarum, quis sophistarum, qui non de prophetarum fonte potaverit? inde igitur et philosophi ritum ingenii surrogaverunt; inde opinor et a quibusdam philosophia legibus quoque ejecta est a Thebæis dico, a Sparteolis et Argæis.

These Grecian states of Thebes, Sparta, and Argos, banished philosophers from among them as the corruptors of their youth. See Seneca ad Helvec. Aliquando philosophi velut corruptores juventutis abire jussi sunt.

Many are of opinion that this decree at Rome was confined to the Epicureans. See Ælian, Var. Hist. 9. 12. I thus translate the chapter: The Romans expelled Alexus and Philiscus, the Epicureans, from their city, because they instructed the youth in many vicious pleasures. The Messenians also expelled

“ Marcus Pomponius represented, that injurious reports were spread concerning these philosophers and rhetoricians; it was therefore decreed that Marcus Pomponius the prætor should watch and take care that, for the good of the public and his own credit, they should not remain at Rome.”

A few years after this decree of the senate, Cnæus Domitius Cœnobarbus and Lucius Licinius Crassus, the censors, issued this edict for restraining Latin rhetoricians:

“ Whereas we have been informed that there are men who have instituted a new science, and that to the school of these men our youth flock, while they call themselves Latin rhetoricians, and that there the young men pass whole days in idleness; now our ancestors have fixed what instruction their children should imbibe, and what schools they should frequent; these new institutions, therefore, which accord not with our customs, nor the customs of our ancestors, are neither agreeable nor proper; wherefore, to those who conduct as well as those who frequent such seminaries, we have thought proper

expelled the Epicureans. Athenæus says the same, 12. 12. and so does Suidas at the article Epicurus.

The emperor Julian also forbade the rhetoricians to teach the Christians, determined if these latter would not be pagans they should not be scholars. See the Life of Julian by the Abbé de la Bleterie.

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to express our disapprobation of their proceedings."

Not only in those very rude times, and when they were unpolished in Greek literature, were philosophers banished from Rome, but when Domitian was emperor they were, by a decree of the senate, driven out of the city, and banished Italy, at which time the philosopher Epictetus went from Rome to Nicopolis on account of that decree.

CHAP. XII.

Celebrated passage from a speech of Gracchus, concerning his frugality and continence¹.

WHEN Caius Gracchus returned from Sardinia, he addressed himself to an assembly of the people in these words—

“ In the government of your province I have conducted myself, not as consulting my own ambition, but your interest. I had no tavern, no beautiful youths as attendants, but your sons, who were more modest at my entertainments than in service with their general.” Afterwards he says, “ I took care that no one in the province should say with truth that I had received a penny, or any larger sum, as a present, or that

¹ The censors had prosecuted Gracchus for leaving his office of questor in Sicily before the period which the law required. This Gracchus did to solicit the tribuneship. His oration, part of which is here quoted, made such an impression on his hearers as to obtain his acquittal.

Charisius, an old grammarian quoted by Priscian, and preserved in Putschius, has given so much more of the speech of Gracchus as may enable us to form an idea of the whole. It must be remembered that the virtues of Gracchus were entitled to the greater commendation, because Sicily was considered as a place of great corruption, luxury, and vice.

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by my means any one had incurred expence. Two years have I been in your province, and if any harlot has entered my house, or any slave been seduced² for my purposes, consider me as the lowest and most abandoned of mankind; since I was thus continent with their slaves, you may suppose what was my conduct toward your sons." A little further on he says, "Thus, my countrymen, though when I went from Rome I carried my bags full of money, I brought them from the province empty; while others, who have carried out casks filled with wine, have brought them home filled with gold."

² *Seduced.*]—Gronovius and all the editions have *follicitus est*. There can be no doubt but it ought to be *follicitatus est*; for *omnium natorum*, I would propose to read, *hominum natorum*.

C H A P. XIII.

Of unusual verbs, called by the grammarians common, and used in either voice.

THE verbs *utor*, *vereor*, *hortor*, and *consolor*, are common, and may be used either way, as *vereor te* and *vereor abs te*, that is, *tu me vereris*; *utor te* and *utor abs te*, that is, *tu me uteris*; *hortor te* and *hortor abs te*, that is, *tu me hortaris*; *consolor te* and *consolor abs te*, that is, *tu me consolaris*. *Testor* also, and *interpretor*, have this reciprocal signification. But these words are commonly used only in one way, and it is doubted whether they are ever used in the other. Afranius, in his *Consobrinis*, has—

Hem isto¹ parentum est vita vilis liberis,
Ubi malunt metui quam vereri se ab suis.

Here *vereri* is applied in its less usual sense. Novus, in the *Ligata et Lignaria*, applies the word *utitur* in its opposite sense: “*quia supellex multa, quæ non utitur, emitur tamen* ;” that is, “*quæ*

¹ *Hem isto, &c.*]—These lines, as they here stand, are far from perspicuous. Muretus, in his *Various Readings*, proposes a different reading. The meaning is, the life of parents who wish rather to be dreaded than beloved can be little agreeable to their children.

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usui non est," which is not in use. Marcus Cato, in his 5th orig. says, "exercitum suum pransum paratum *cobortatum* eduxit foras atque instruxit." Consolor is likewise applied in its unusual sense in a letter which Quintus Metellus wrote, in his banishment, to Cnæus and Licinius Domitius: "When I think," says he, "of your regard for me, *I am greatly comforted*, (vehementèr consolor) and your fidelity and virtue are impressed upon my mind." In the same manner Marcus Tullius, in his 1st book "de Divinatione," has used *testata* and *interpretata*, so that *testor* and *interpretor* appear to be verbs common; so Sallust has the phrase *dilargitis proscriptorum bonis*, as if *largior* were one of these verbs common. Thus we see *veritum*, *puditum*, and *pigitum*, not used personally in the infinitive mood, nor confined to the ancients alone, but adopted by Marcus Tullius in his second book "de Finibus: "Primum Aristippi Cyrenaicorumque omnium quos non *est veritum* in eâ voluptate quâ maximâ dulcedine sensum moveret, summum bonum ponere." *Dignor* also, and *veneror*, *confiteor*, and *testor*, are accounted verbs common, according to that passage in Virgil—

Conjugio Anchisa Veneris *dignate* superbo,
Curfusque dabit *venerata* sacerdos.

Confessi æris is a phrase which occurs in the Twelve Tables, in these words: "Æris con-

fessi rebusque judicatis 30 dies justi sint." In the same tables too, is this passage: "Quæ si erit testator libripensve fuerit in testimonium fariatur improbus, intestabilisque² esto."

² *Intestabilisque.*]—This was a law term, and has two significations; it means both one whose evidence could not be taken in a court of justice, who was consequently infamous; it meant also one who could not make a will. See Horace—

Is intestabilis et sacer esto.

Sat. 3. l. v. 181.

Ulpian says, that whoever wrote a libellous poem could neither make a will himself, nor be witness to the will of another person. Intestabilis was sometimes also used in another and less decent sense, though perhaps Lambin may have seen a meaning in Plautus which Plautus himself never intended. See the *Curculio* of Plautus, Act I. Scene I.

Semper curato ne vis intestabilis.

On the subject of *æris confessi*, which fragment occurs in the sentence above, see Gellius again, book 20. c. 1.

CHAP. XIV.

Metellus Numidicus has borrowed a new figure of speech from the Greek orators.

IN Metellus Numidicus's third book, containing his accusation against Valerius Messala, I observed a new expression. His words are these: "When he found himself involved¹ in such a charge, and saw his companions coming in tears to the senate to complain that great sums of money had been exacted," *pecunias se maximas exactas* appeared to me a Greek mode of expression; for the Greeks say εἰσπραξάτο με ἀργύριον, he demanded money of me; and if that phrase is allowable, any one may be said to be exactus pecuniam. Thus Cæcilius appears to have used the word in his Hypobolimæus²—

Ego illud minus nihilo exigor portorium,
which is, "nevertheless, that custom-house fee is required of me."

¹ *Himself involved.*]—Quum se sciet, a friend proposes to read quum re sciret, which may be rendered when he positively knew. H. Stephens disputes the accuracy of the title of this chapter. See the annotations at the end of his edition of Gellius, p. 59.

² *Hypobolimæus.*]—A few other fragments of this play have been preserved by H. Stephens, and may be found in Nonius Marcellus. To Hypobolimæus the term Æschinus is added by Nonius Marcellus as well as by Gellius.

CHAP. XV.

The ancients used "passis velis," and "passis manibus," not from their own word "patior," but from "pando."

FROM the verb *pando* the ancients formed *passum* and not *pansum*, and *expassum*, with the preposition, not *expansum*. Thus Cæcilius in his *Synaristufæ* ¹—

¹ *Synaristufæ*.]—These are the only fragments of this play, and are to be found no where but in Gellius, from whom they are inserted by H. Stephens in his collection.

A play of this name was written by Crates, as appears from Julius Pollux. Pliny also, in his 23d book, tells us, that Menander wrote a comedy called *Synaristufæ*. His words are, *Item apud Menandrum Synaristufæ hoc edunt.*

For *dispassis*, at the conclusion of this chapter, I would rather read *disperfis*, and consequently derive the word from *dispergo*.

This sense of *disperfis* comis occurs in Anacreon. The lines are sufficiently elegant to be quoted—

Ελικας δ' ελευθερος μοι
Πλοκαμων, ατακτα συνθεις
Αφεις ως θελωσι κεισθαι.

The meaning of the quotation from Plautus is this—

You'll shortly march, I fancy, in this posture,
Without the Metian gate, bearing along
A gibbet, with your hands spread out.

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Heri vero prospexisse eum se ex tegulis
Hæc nuntiasse, et flammeum *expassum* domi.

A woman is said to be *passo capillo*, with dishevelled hair, *quasi porrecto, expanso*, and we say *passis manibus, passis velis*, in the sense of diductis and distentis. So Plautus, in his Miles Gloriosus, changing *a* into *e*, as is usual in compound words, says *dispestis* for *dispassis*:

Credo ego isthoc exemplo tibi esse eundum
extra portam,
Dispestis manibus patibulum cum habebis.

CHAP. XVI.

*Extraordinary death of Milo of Crotona*¹.

MILO of Crotona, a celebrated wrestler, who, as is recorded, was crowned in the fiftieth Olympiad, met with a lamentable and extraordinary death. When, now an old man, he had desisted from his athletic art, and was journeying alone in the woody parts of Italy, he saw an oak very near the road side, gaping in the middle of the trunk with its branches extended; willing, I suppose, to try what strength he had left, he put his fingers into the fissure of the tree, and attempted to pluck aside and separate the oak, and did actually tear and divide it in the middle; but when the oak was thus split in two, and he relaxed his hold as having accomplished his intention, upon a cessation of the force

¹ The story of Milo occurs in so many authors, ancient as well as modern, that it must necessarily be familiar to every reader. The learned are not agreed about the time when this man lived. Some say he flourished in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, others in the time of Tarquinius Superbus. Salmasius, in his annotations on Solinus, has entered at length into the question, but has not cleared it up.

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it returned to its natural position, and left the man, when it united, with his hands confined², to be torn by wild beasts.

² *His bands confined.*]—The mode of Milo's death is thus mentioned by Ovid, if indeed the Ibis be Ovid's—

Utque Milon robur deducere fissile tentes,
Nec possis captas inde referre manus.

CHAP. XVII.

Why the nobler Athenian youth left off playing on the flute, which had been long the custom of their country ¹.

ALCIBIADES the Athenian, when a youth, was instructed by his uncle Pericles in the liberal arts and sciences; and Pericles ordered Antigenides, a musician, to be sent for to teach him to play on the flute, which was then considered as a great accomplishment. He applied the pipe to his mouth and blew into it, but disgusted by the deformity of his countenance, he flung it aside and broke it. As soon as this story was known, by universal consent the science of playing on the flute was discontinued. This story is taken from the 29th commentary of Pamphilas.

¹ This anecdote is related by Plutarch, who gives as a reason why Alcibiades refused to learn the flute, that whoever plays on the harp might at the same time talk or sing, but that he who played on the flute was debarred of conversation. "Let the Thebans," said he, "play on the flute, for they know not how to converse; but we of Athens have Minerva and Apollo as our tutelar gods, one of whom threw the flute away, whilst the other stripped off the skin of the man who played upon it."

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The battle in the civil war, and the victory obtained by Cæsar at Pharsalia, was mentioned and foretold by one Cornelius, a priest, who was that day at Patavium in Italy ¹.

ON the day when Caius Cæsar and Cnæus Pompey engaged in Theffaly, a circumstance happened at Petavium in Italy, beyond the Po, which deserves to be recorded. One Cornelius, a priest, a man

¹ The circumstance of this prophecy by this Cornelius is mentioned by Lucan, b. 7. v. 192.

Euganeo, si vera fides memorantibus, augur
Colle sedens Aponus terris ubi fumifer exit,
Atque Antenorei dispergitur unda Timavi,
Venit summa dies, geritur res maxima, dixit, &c. &c.

Which lines are thus rendered by Rowe—

Where Aponus first springs in smoky steam,
And full Timavus rolls his nobler stream,
Upon a hill that day, if fame be true,
A learned augur sat the skies to view ;
“ ’Tis come ; the great event is come,” he cried ;
“ Our impious chiefs their wicked war decide.”
Whether the seer observ’d Jove’s forked flame,
And mark’d the firmament’s discordant frame ;

Or

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a man of family, honoured from his situation as a priest, and respectable from the sanctity of his life, on a sudden emotion of his mind exclaimed, that he saw at a distance a most furious engagement; he then loudly vociferated, as if he were himself in the battle, that he observed some giving way, others pressing on, and spoke of slaughter, flight, weapons, a renewal of the fight, and the cries of the dying. At last he exclaimed, "Cæsar is victorious." The forebodings of Cornelius at that time appeared futile and senseless, but were afterwards the cause of great surprise. Not only the day when the battle was fought in Thessaly, and the event of the battle, which he foretold, proved true, but all the changes of the day, and the order of the conflict between the two armies, were described by his emotions and exclamations.

Or whether, in that gloom of sudden night,
The struggling sun declar'd the dreadful fight,
From the first birth of morning in the skies,
Sure never day like this was known to rise;
In the blue vault as in a volume spread,
Plain might the Latian destiny be read.

CHAP. XIX.

Passage worthy of record, from the satire of Marcus Varro, entitled, περι εδισμάτων.

THE number of persons is not small to whom that observation of Marcus Varro, in his satire against luxurious eating, applies: "If," said he, "you had given a twelfth part of that attention to the study of philosophy which you have laid out to make your baker give you good bread, you might long since have become a good man¹; but now, people who know the baker would give an hundred thousand sesterces for him, while for you no one would, who knows you, give an hundred pence."

¹ *A good man.*]—The epithet bonus, applied to vir, was used in a variety of significations. Horace says—

Vir bonus est quis?

Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat.

Vir bonus sometimes implies a wealthy man. Bona, applied to dicta, means facetious or witty sayings. In what sense it is to be understood in this chapter it is not easy to say; probably it is synonymous with locuples.

The most celebrated bakers were of Lydia, Phœnicia, and Cappadocia. See Athenæus, book 3. chap. 29. Cræsus honoured the woman who made his bread with a statue of gold. See Herodotus, Clio, chap. 51.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

*Circumstances of the birth, life, manners, and death
of the poet Euripides.*

THEOPOMPUS says, that the mother of the poet Euripides gained a livelihood by selling vegetables*, but that his father, when Euripides was born, was told by the Chaldæans that his child would be conqueror in the public games. The father, interpreting the boy's fate literally, thought he ought to make him a wrestler; and so, strengthening by exercise the youth's body, he introduced him among the young men who were to contend in the Olympic games. At first, on account of his tender age, he was not admitted to the contest. Afterwards, in the Eleusinian and Thesean contests, he engaged, and was victorious. Then, from his attention to bodily exercises, proceeding to the culture of his mind, he was a follower of Anaxagoras the physician, and of Prodicus the rhetorician, whilst Socrates was his in-

* *Selling vegetables.*]—Suidas says this account is not true; and asserts, on the authority of Philochorus, that the mother of Euripides was of a very noble family. Valerius Maximus so far contradicts Suidas as to affirm, that the tale of the low descent of this poet was believed by almost all learned men: *Omnium pene doctorum literæ loquuntur.*

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structor in moral philosophy. At eighteen years old he began to write tragedy. Philochorus² relates, that in the island of Salamis was a wild gloomy cave, which I have seen, wherein Euripides often composed³ his tragedies. He is

² *Philochorus.*]—This was an historian of great celebrity. He flourished in the time of Ptolemy Philopater. He wrote a history of Athens, was put to death by Antigonos, and is commended in the Scholia to the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes. See *Ranæ*, scene 1. act 5.

³ *Composed.*]—Gronovius writes *scriptitarit*; perhaps it is misprinted for *scriptitavit*, or it may be *scriptitaret*. In the sentence which follows, for *cœtu* we should probably read *coitu*.

Euripides expresses himself with great severity against the female sex in his *Hippolytus*. Among other things he says—

By a fair semblance to deceive the world;
Wherefore, O Jove! beneath the solar beams
That evil, woman, didst thou cause to dwell.

Again—

Perdition seize you both!
For with unsatiated abhorrence still
Gainst woman will I speak,
For they are ever uniformly wicked.

I have used Mr Wodhull's translation—

That Euripides disliked women is affirmed also by Diogenes Laertius, who says, that the poet had two wives, both of whom proved unchaste. See also the 13th book of Athenæus on this subject. The Athenians passed a decree, enabling every man to have two wives, in order to increase the population of their city, which had been exhausted by frequent wars.

said

said to have held all women in particular abhorrence, either from a natural dislike to their company, or because he had at the same time two wives, which, by the Athenian law, was allowed to people tired of one marriage. Aristophanes notices this antipathy to women in his *Thesmophoriasusæ* thus—

“ I’d have all women wreak their vengeance
due

For many crimes upon this guilty wretch ;
Give him coarse fare, for that shall suit him
well

Who on the gardener’s roots hath ever lived.”

And Alexander *Ætolus** wrote these lines on Euripides :

Although thy pupil Anaxagoras
Doth for a grave and churlish pedant pass,
Let him but write, and quickly you shall know
What honied strains from chanting syrens flow.

When Euripides was in Macedonia with king Archelaus, that monarch admitted him to his intimacy; but, returning one night from visiting

* *Alexander Ætolus.*—A tragic poet and grammarian, who flourished in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Strabo has preserved three more of his verses. See also Parthenius, who, in his *Erotica*, inserts some beautiful verses as from Alexander *Ætolus*.

the king, he was torn by dogs³ fet on him by a rival, and died of his wounds.

The Macedonians treated his tomb and his memory with such respect, that upon various occasions they sung with exultation,

“ Ne’er shall thy name, Euripides, be lost.”

Proud that so great a poet had been buried in their country. So that when ambassadors were sent to them from the Athenians, requesting that his bones might be sent back to Athens, his native land, the Macedonians unanimously persisted in denying the request.

³ *Torn by dogs.*] The incident of the death of Euripides is related by Suidas, and gave rise to the proverbial expression of *προμαρτυρῶντες*, which is to be found explained, with reference to this event, in the Greek proverbs extracted from Suidas, Diogenianus, &c.

The rival was some courtier, who suspected that Euripides had done him ill offices with the king, their common master.

Writers, however, are by no means agreed with respect to the manner of this poet’s death. Some say simply that he died in Macedonia, others that he was torn in pieces by women.

The Athenians, not being able to recover the bones of Euripides, erected a statue to his honour, as is mentioned by Pausanias.

CHAP. XXI.

By the poets, the sons of Jove are represented as very wise and polished, those of Neptune most rude and ferocious.

THE poets have described the sons of Jupiter^a as distinguished by their virtue, their wisdom, and their strength, as Æacus, Minos, and Sarpedon; while the sons of Neptune, as Cyclops, Cercyon, and the Lestrygons, are represented as ferocious, cruel, and destitute of all humanity, as if sprung from the sea.

^a *Sons of Jupiter.*]—If I were severally to recite the virtues of these supposed sons of Jupiter, and the contrary qualities of the descendants of Neptune, I might fill several pages with extracts from the ancient poets and other writers. Yet the ancient mythologists were not very consistent in the qualities they imputed to Jove, and those who sprung from him; for though on the principle that he was the source of all that was good, and fair, and graceful, they made him the father of Venus, the Graces, the Hours, &c. yet he was also the father of Mars, the god of violence and slaughter, and Vulcan, the god of fire. On these subjects it is worth while to consult Phurnutus de Natura Deorum, as well as Blackwell's Letters on Mythology, among a multitude of other writers.

CHAP. XXII.

Story of Sertorius; his cunning, and the artifice he employed to keep his barbarian soldiers together, and conciliate their good will¹.

SERTORIUS was an acute man and a good general, who understood the art of exercising and managing an army. Upon trying occasions he would, to effect any advantageous purpose, tell a lie to his soldiers, read feigned letters, or relate to them a pretended dream; and sometimes, if it assisted him in raising the spirits of his men, he would talk of certain religious interferences. But his most memorable contrivance was this:—A white deer², of most exquisite beauty and extraordinary swiftness, was given him by a Lusitanian. He endeavoured to persuade his followers that this animal came to him from heaven; that, inspired by the power of Diana, it conversed with him, gave him advice,

¹ The story here related of Sertorius may be found at greater length in Plutarch, and its parallel occurs in the History of Socrates, of Numa Pompilius, of Scipio, and others.

² Pliny talks of a white hind; and Pausanias says, that such caused great admiration in Rome.

Sertorius is compared, in the principal circumstances of his life and fortunes, to the Greek commander Eumenes. The name of the man who gave Sertorius his hind was Spanus.

and

and pointed out to him what was proper to be done; and if he found it necessary to impose any harsh commands upon the army, he declared that he took his directions from the stag. When he said this, all paid obedience to him as to a deity. Upon a certain day, when it was said that the enemy were approaching, this deer, alarmed at the hurry and tumult, fled, and hid itself in a neighbouring marsh; and, after having been searched for, was supposed to have perished. Some days after, news was brought to Sertorius that the deer was found. He desired the messenger to say nothing, threatening him with punishment if he discovered the secret. He then desired him, on the following day, to repair with the deer to a place where he would be with a party of his friends, and there let it loose. The day following, his friends being admitted to him, he said he had seen, in his sleep, the deer which had been killed, return to him. He then proceeded to issue his commands as usual; when, upon a sign from Sertorius, the deer was let loose, and rushed into his apartment. A great clamour and astonishment immediately ensued. Thus the credulity of these ignorant people was, upon great occasions, rendered very useful to Sertorius. It is related, that of the nations who acted with Sertorius, notwithstanding he was routed in many battles, not one ever deserted from him, although that race of men is, of all others, most inconstant.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the ages of the celebrated historians, Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides.

THE historians, Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, were in equal reputation¹ for genius almost at the same time, and did not materially differ from each other in age; for, in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Hellanicus appears to have been sixty-five, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty. This remark is from the 11th book of Pamphila.

¹ For fere laude ingenti, I would rather read pari laude ingenii. This account of the ages of these historians can hardly be accurate, for we are told that Thucydides heard Herodotus recite his history at the Olympic games, and was so much delighted that he burst into tears; on which Herodotus exclaimed to Olorus, the father of Thucydides, "Your son discovers a strong ardour for science." Now this account of Gellius makes Herodotus no more than thirteen years older than Thucydides, which brings the above fact hardly within the limits of probability.

C H A P. XXIV.

Judgment of Volcatius Sedigitus on the Roman comic writers, in his book "de Poetis."

SEDIGITUS, in his book upon the poets, has given us his opinion upon those who wrote comedies. He tells us which poet he thinks excels the rest; and, in the following verses, ranks them according to their degrees of estimation:

* The verses quoted in this chapter are certainly inaccurate; but perhaps it would not be an easy task to amend them.

For *certare*, in the first line, I would, without hesitation, read *versare*. The seventh is very faulty indeed, and various readings are proposed by different commentators to amend it. The best emendation seems to be *pretio in tertio est*. There is a Volcatius mentioned by Cicero, but certainly not the same with this Volcatius Sedigitus. See Burman's Latin Anthology, v. 1. 411. In these lines Attilius is preferred to Terence; but Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, calls Attilius, *durissimus poeta*. Licinius, as quoted by Cicero, calls Attilius, *ferreus scriptor*. He was supposed to have translated Sophocles into Latin verse. Attilius is often confounded into Attius or Accius. The commentators on Gellius all take the alarm at seeing their favourite Terence placed so low in the catalogue. Afranius, who was cotemporary with Terence, thought him superior to all the Latin comic poets, and the impartial judgment of posterity has confirmed this decision.

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Oft 'tis a question 'mong the critic race,
 What bard the palm of glory ought to grace.
 To clear this matter, I'll the truth reveal;
 From my decree fools only shall appeal:
 First honours be, Cæcilius, to thy name,
 And to thee, Plautus, next, the meed of fame;
 Let Nævus then adorn the third degree;
 The fourth is due, Licinius, to thee;
 Be thine, Attilius, next; then, Terence, thine
 What just rewards await you from the Nine;
 Then, Luscius, gladly I commend thy song;
 Then, Ennius, thine, for thine hath flourished long.

CHAP. XXV¹.

*Of certain words which occur in the Mimiambi of
Cnæus Mattius.*

CNÆUS Mattius, a very learned man, has, in his Mimiambics, without impropriety and without harshness, invented the word *recentatur*, answering to the Greek word *αναγεσταί*. The lines in which that word occurs are these:

“ Jam jam albicasset Phœbus, & *recentatur*
Commune lumen hominibus & voluptas.”

“ Now had the sun arisen, at whose birth
New light, new joy, is scattered o’er the earth.”

Mattius, too, in the same Mimiambics, has *edulcare*, to make sweeter, in the following lines:

“ Quapropter *edulcare* convenit vitam,
Curasque acerbis sensibus gubernare.”

“ To sweeten life that rule is surely best,
Which, by indulgence, sets the mind at rest.”

¹ The reader may see the whole of this epigram of Mattius in the Latin Anthology of Burman, vol. 1. 630.

For *sensibus*, I would propose to read *suavibus*.

The two lines of Mattius, in b. 10. c. 24. these two before us, and four more in c. 9. b. 20. make this epigram. See also Macrobius, l. 1. Saturn. c. 4.

CHAP. XXVI.

Aristotle's definition of a syllogism translated into Latin.*

ARISTOTLE has thus defined a syllogism: "A sentence in which, from certain principles laid down, certain consequences necessarily follow." The interpretation of this definition appeared not to have been ill given in this manner: "A syllogism is a sentence in which, from certain things agreed and allowed, something beyond what was allowed necessarily follows what is already granted."

* There is no better definition of a syllogism than the following, taken from Chambers:

A syllogism is an argument consisting of three propositions, having this property, that the conclusion necessarily follows from the two premises, so that if the first and second proposition be granted, the conclusion must be granted also, and the whole allowed for a demonstration. Thus, for example: all vice is to be avoided; avarice is a vice; therefore avarice is to be avoided.

CHAP. XXVII.

Meaning of the Comitia Calata, the Curiata, Centuriata, Tributa, and the Concilium, with certain observations on similar subjects.

IN the first book of Lælius Felix¹, addressed to Mucius, it is said, that Labeo affirmed that these were the *comitia calata*, which are held for the college of priests, or to inaugurate the president of the sacrifices or the flamens; that some of these were *curiata*, others *centuriata*. The *curiata* were summoned by the lictor Curiatus, the *centuriata* by a cornicen or trumpeter². At the same *comitia*, which we are accustomed to call *calata*, the denouncing of sacred rites and testaments³ took place. There

¹ *Lælius Felix.*]—Commentators are by no means agreed who this Lælius Felix was. Some are for reading L. Ælius Felix.

² *Trumpeter.*]—That the people were called together by a trumpeter appears from Dionys. Halicarnassensis, l. 2. "The public officers called the people together by sounding trumpets made of the horns of oxen." See also a verse of Lucilius, preserved in Nonius Marcellus:

Rauco concionem sonitu, et curvis cogant cornibus.

See also Propertius, l. 4.

Buccina cogebat priscos ad verba quirites.

³ *Testaments.*]—These *comitia* were not held for the particular purpose of declaring wills; but this sort of business must necessarily be done at the *comitia calata*, when held.

With respect to the denouncing of sacred rites, see book 6. chap. 12.

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were three kinds of *testamenta*; one which took place at the *calata comitia*, in the assembly of the people; the second, when the army was drawn out in array, and the soldiers were about to engage; the third, when the *æs* and *libra* took place, and a family was emancipated. In the same book of Lælius Felix is this passage:

“He who does not require the presence of all, but only of a portion of the people, must summon, not the *comitia*, but a *concilium*. The tribunes cannot summon the patricians, nor refer to them concerning any matter, so that these are not called *leges* (laws) but *plebiscita*, which are promulgated by the tribunes of the people; by which edicts the patricians were not restrained formerly, till Q. Hortensius, dictator, passed a law, that whatever law the commons should pass should be binding on the patricians.” The same person, in another place, writes thus also:

“When the votes were given by centuries, they were called *Curiata Comitia*; when by the census and age, the *Centuriata*; when from their local situation, *Tributa*. The *Centuriata* could not be held within the *pomœrium*, because the army must be commanded without the city⁴, and not lawfully

⁴ *Without the city.*]—This seems to require explanation. No individual was allowed to have any military command within the city. If a successful general returned home, and demanded a triumph, the senate assembled at some place without the city, to judge of the justice of his claims. If these were granted, he was, by a formal act, allowed to have military command within the city on the day of his triumph.

lawfully within it. The *centuriata* were also held in the Campus Martius, and the army attended by way of protection, as the people were employed in giving their votes.

The Centuriata Comitia were held in the Campus Martius. Anciently these assemblies were held in arms, to guard against any sudden hostile attack; afterwards, a body of soldiers were left in the citadel, where a standard was erected: when this was taken down, the Comitia were understood to be concluded.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Cornelius Nepos was mistaken when he affirmed that Cicero pleaded for Sextus Roscius in the twenty-third year of his age.

CORNELIUS Nepos was a man of great accuracy, and the particular friend of Marcus Cicero; he, however, in his first book on the Life of Cicero, appears to have fallen into an error; for he says, that he was twenty-three years old when he pleaded his first cause in public, and defended Sextus Roscius, who was accused of parricide. Now, from the consulate of Quintus Cæpio and Quintus Serranus, at which time, on the third of the nones of January, Marcus Cicero was born, to the time when he pleaded in defence of Quintius before Aquilius Gallus, twenty-six years are found; and there can be no doubt that he defended Sextus Roscius from the accu-

fation of parricide, a year after he had pleaded for Quintius, on which occasion he was twenty-seven years old, Lucius Sylla Felix, and Quintus Metellus Pius being consuls; wherefore Pedianus Asconius thinks that Fenestella¹ mistook when he said, that in his twenty-sixth year he defended Sextus Roscius. But the mistake of Nepos is

¹ Fenestella flourished in the time of Augustus, and Pedianus Asconius in the reign of Vespasian.

Cicero was killed at the command of Antony, in the consulship of C. Vibius Pansa and A. Hirtius, on the seventh of the ides of December; he consequently lived sixty-three years eleven months and five days. Here I may be allowed to correct a typographical error in Gronovius, who for eleven months reads six.

The following, from Middleton's Life of Cicero, seems to merit a place here.

Speaking of Cicero he says—

“ Thus adorned and accomplished, he offered himself to the bar about the age of twenty-six, not as others generally did, raw and ignorant of their business, and wanting to be formed to it by use and experience, but finished and qualified at once to sustain any cause which should be committed to him. It has been controverted, both by ancients and moderns, what was the first cause in which he was engaged; some give it for P. Quintius, others for S. Roscius; but neither of them are in the right, for, in his oration for Quintius, he expressly declares that he had pleaded *other causes before it*, and in that for Roscius says only, that it was the *first public* or criminal cause in which he was concerned; and it is reasonable to imagine that he had tried his strength, and acquired some credit in private causes, before he would venture upon a public one of that importance, agreeably to the advice which Quintilian gives to his young pleaders, whose rules are generally drawn from the practice and example of Cicero.”

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greater

greater than that of Fenestella, unless we may suppose that Nepos suppressed four years of his life through pure regard and friendship, in order to increase our admiration of his talents, by shewing that Cicero, when quite a youth, could deliver so fine an oration as that in behalf of Roscius. This, however, has been observed, and recorded by the admirers of the two great orators, that Demosthenes and Cicero were of the same age when they spoke their most celebrated orations. The former pleaded against Androtion and Timocrates at the age of twenty-seven; the latter, when one year younger, defended Quintus, and at twenty-seven, Sextus Roscius: nor was the number of years which they lived very different; Cicero reached his sixty-third year, Demosthenes his sixtieth.

C H A P. XXIX.

A new figure of speech used by Piso the annalist.

THE two following modes of speaking are known and established: "My name is Julius," "Mihi nomen est Julio," and "Mihi nomen est Julii." But, in the second book of Piso's Annals I have met with a third form. His words are these: "Lucius Tarquinius, his colleague, began to be afraid because his name was Tarquinius." This he expresses by "quia Tarquinium nomen¹ est;" which is, as if I should say, "mihi nomen est *Julium*."

¹ *Tarquinium nomen.*]—See Livy. Cui parentes Ascanium dedere nomen. And Virgil—

Æneadaſque meo nomen de nomine ſingo.

CHAP. XXX.

Whether the carriage called petorritum be a Grecian or Gallic name¹.

THEY who, being tired of some other mode of life, apply at a late period to literary pursuits, frequently, if they are of a prating turn, and of moderate abilities, expose themselves, and appear ridiculous, in the display of their learning. Of this sort was a person, who, not long ago, spoke the most refined nonsense upon the word *petorrita*; for when some one asked what sort of carriage the *petorritum* was, and of what language, he described a sort of carriage which was very foreign from the true one, and said, the word was Greek, and that it meant, when interpreted, “flying wheels.” He wished to change one letter, and to spell it *petorrotum* instead of *petorritum*; and contended, that it was so written

¹ The *petorritum* was an open carriage with four wheels, used only by persons of inferior rank. See Horace, Sat. 1. l. 103.

Plures calones atque caballi

Pascendi: ducenda petorrita.

The following is from *Festus de Significatione Verborum*—

Petorritum vehiculum Gallicum alii osce putant dictum, quod hi *petora* quatuor appellant; quatuor enim habet rotas.

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by Valerius Probus. I, who have many copies of Probus's Commentaries, can neither meet with it in them, nor do I believe that Probus has used the word any where else; for *petorritum* is not by halves derived from Greek, but is taken entirely from the Transalpine Gauls; it is a Gallic word; it is found in Varro's 14th book on Divine Things; in which place, speaking of *petorritum*, Varro says it is a Gallic word; and he adds, that *lanceam* is not a Latin but a Spanish word.

CHAP. XXXI.

Message sent by the Rhodians to Demetrius, the enemy's general, when they were besieged by him, about the famous statue of Jalyfus¹.

DEMETRIUS, the celebrated commander, attacked the Island of Rhodes, and laid siege to the principal and richest town in it. That general had obtained the surname of Poliorcetes, for the skill which he manifested, and the machines he employed in the conduct of his sieges. In the course of the attack he was preparing to destroy, and consume by fire, some

¹ The above anecdote is related by Plutarch in his Life of Demetrius, who is also celebrated by Pliny and by Vitruvius.

He was far from being unknown in the annals of gallantry, and the beautiful Lamia was his favourite mistress. She is thus made to allude, agreeably enough, to his title of Poliorcetes, in the Epistles of Alciphron—

“ Indeed, my lord Demetrius, when I see you in the field, when I hear you among your guards, and behold you surrounded with your soldiers, and your ambassadors, with your diadem on your head, I swear by Venus I am struck with awe, and I turn from you as from the sun, lest the splendour should injure my eyes. Then, indeed, you justly represent Demetrius, the stormer of cities.” Afterwards, she says, “ By Venus, this day will I, with my lute, besiege this besieger of cities,” &c.

public buildings without the walls of the town, which were protected only by a slight guard. These buildings contained the famous picture of Jalyfus, from the hand of that illustrious painter Protogenes. Enraged against the Rhodians, he envied them the beauty and the excellence of this work; but the Rhodians sent ambassadors to Demetrius with this message: "What is the reason," say they, "that, setting fire to the building, you would destroy this picture. If you conquer us, you will possess the whole town, and, by right of victory, the statue unhurt will be yours; but if you are unable to subdue us, we desire you to consider whether it is not dishonourable, because you cannot conquer the Rhodians, to make war upon the deceased Protogenes*." Having heard this message from the ambassadors, relinquishing the siege, he spared at once the picture and the city.

* *Deceased Protogenes.*]—Here the commentators are at variance. Some say Protogenes was alive and present at this siege: if so, it should be read, cum Protogene et mortuo; that is, with Protogenes, who is alive, and Jalyfus, who is dead. If Protogenes was dead, and the contrary cannot easily be proved, my interpretation is right. Writers are by no means agreed who this Jalyfus was; some affirm he was a famous hunter, others, that he was a satyr, others again say, that Jalyfus was a name for Bacchus.

B O O K XVI.

CHAP. I.

Words of the philosopher Musonius in Greek, worthy to be heard, and useful to be remembered. A sentiment of equal utility spoken by M. Cato to the knights of Numantia many years before.

WHEN we were boys at school, I heard the following moral sentiment spoken by Musonius¹ the philosopher; and I easily remembered it, because it was so truly and clearly expressed, and included in a short and round sentence: “ If you have accomplished any honourable purpose, though with labour, the labour

¹ *Musonius.*]—There were two or more philosophers of this name; nor can it easily be decided which of them is here meant; certain it is, that the sentiment which is here ascribed to him deserves, both for its simplicity and excellence, to be constantly instilled into the youthful mind. The same sentiment, differently expressed, may be found in various writers, ancient as well as modern. Some account of this philosopher may be found in the thirty-first volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*, p. 131.

passes, the advantage remains; but if, for pleasure's sake, you have done a base action, the pleasure flies, and the baseness remains."

I afterwards met with this same sentiment in an oration of Cato's, which he spoke before the knights of Numantia. If Cato's sentiment be expressed in more diffuse and weaker terms, yet it appears more entitled to our applause, because it was spoken before the other. These are his words: "Consider with yourselves if, by labour, you have done any good deed, the labour soon passes away from you, but the good deed does not leave you while you live; if, through the love of pleasure, you have done any thing dishonourable, soon shall the pleasure pass away, but the dishonour shall remain for ever."

C H A P. II¹.

Order observed by logicians in disputing and declaiming.—Objections to this rule.

THEY say there is a rule in logical disputations, that when any subject is discussed and disputed on, if you are called upon to reply, you

¹ To say much upon the subject of this chapter would be wasting both my time and that of the reader; the subtleties, of which the ancients were so fond, to us appear what they really are, solemn but contemptible triflings. To the examples recorded in the chapter of logical quibbles, many might be added from Diogenes Laertius, from Athenæus, from Cicero, from Lucian, and many others.

Dr. Enfield has collected many of these. I extract one or two from his entertaining and useful History of Philosophy;

Do you know your father? Yes.—Do you know this man who is veiled? No.—Then you do not know your father; for it is your father who is veiled.

You have what you have not lost. You have not lost horns, therefore you have horns.

If when you speak the truth you say you lie, you lie; but you say you lie when you speak the truth, therefore in speaking truth you lie.

Chrysippus wrote an immense volume upon this last quibble; and Philotas, of Cos, died of a disease contracted from his close study bestowed on this subject. The following anecdote also, which I transcribe from Dr. Enfield's book before

you must answer by a simple negation or affirmation. They who do not observe this rule, and who answer, when called upon, by more or by different words, do not understand the form and proper manner of conducting a debate. Without a doubt it is necessary to observe this form in most disputations, because a controversy would be without end, and inexplicable, unless confined to simple questions and answers. However, there are some occasions upon which, if you answer concisely and simply to a question, you may be drawn into a dilemma; as for instance, if any one should ask, "I desire you will tell me whether you have ceased to commit adultery or not?" now, if you answer according to logical form, either affirming or denying, you will be ensnared, whether you say or deny that you are an adulterer; for something ought to be add-

before quoted, cannot but amuse the reader: Diodorus is said to have invented the famous argument against motion. If any body be moved, it is either moved in the place where it is, or in a place where it is not; but it is not moved in the place where it is, for where it is it remains; nor is it moved in a place where it is not, for nothing can either act or suffer where it is not; therefore there is no such thing as motion. Diodorus, after the invention of this wonderful argument, was very properly repaid for his ingenuity. Having had the misfortune to dislocate his shoulder, the surgeon, whom he sent for to replace it, kept him some time in torture, whilst he proved to him, from his own method of reasoning, that the bone could not have *moved* out of its place.

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ed, which is not in the question: it does not follow, that he who says he has not ceased to do a thing, therefore formerly did that thing; this is therefore a fallacious mode of reasoning, and can by no means lead to a conclusion that he commits adultery, who says that he has not left off committing adultery. But what will the defenders of this rule say when involved in that difficulty, where they must remain, if they give only a simple answer to a question; for if I should ask one of them, "Have you or have you not, that which you have not lost? I desire you will say yes or no." Let him answer briefly as he will, and he must be caught. If he says, that he has not that which he has not lost, it follows that he has no eyes, because he has not lost them. If he says that he has that which he has not lost, it follows that he has horns, because he has not lost them. More properly then, and more prudently, this might be answered: "That which I had I have, if I have not lost it." But this answer is not consistent with the rule I spoke of, for it replies to more than was asked; this addition, therefore, is made to that rule, that no answer is to be given to fallacious questions.

CHAP. III.

By what means, according to Erasistratus the physician, if food be wanting, hunger may be in some degree, and for some time, supported.—His words on this subject.

WHEN Favorinus was at Rome, I passed many whole days with him. His enchanting conversation took possession of my mind, and I attended him whithersoever he went, charmed as it were by the magic of his tongue, such power had he of delighting, upon all occasions, by his discourse. He went once to visit a sick man, where I was admitted with him, and having conversed a good deal in Greek with the physicians who were there, upon the subject of the patient's complaint, "Should it not seem extraordinary," says he, "that though he had formerly a great appetite, yet, after three days prescribed fasting, his former appetite' is lost; for the observation
made

* *His former appetite.*]—As there is a constant waste of the substance of all animals and vegetables while living, it is necessary that this should be supplied by administering of proper aliment, or they would languish, and at length die.

If vegetables are deprived of their pabulum, they droop and become flaccid. In animals, a want of sustenance excites

made by Erasistratus is surely true: ' The empty and open fibres of the intestines, the hollowness of

cites an uneasiness in the stomach, which we denominate hunger; and this, if not attended to, is soon followed by languor and faintness. To account for this, various hypotheses have been imagined. The ancients thought this was occasioned by the open and empty tubes continuing to suck or draw in nourishment after all moisture was exhausted. Upon this principle, the sense of hunger would cease when the vessels had had sufficient time very considerably to diminish or perhaps obliterate their cavities. A more modern opinion is, that the gastric juice, coming in contact with the sides of the stomach when empty, vellicates its fibres, and thence excites the sensation of hunger. This continuing a long time, the coats of the stomach become at length insensible to the stimulus, and the appetite is lost. The observation, however, is true, that by refraining too long from food the appetite becomes prostrated, and is lost; and it does honour to the ingenuity of Favorinus to have hit upon this method of curing a depraved or inordinate appetite.

On the same subject, the following extract from my friend Dr. Russel's History of Aleppo seems pertinent in this place:

" But the most remarkable of all the voluntary fasts is one of six complete days, during which time those who fast religiously maintain an abstinence from all kinds of nourishment, not so much as suffering water to enter their lips, and, what they reckon almost an equal hardship, renouncing tobacco. Some, during the two first days of this fast, make their appearance in the bazar to transact business, but confine themselves afterwards close to the house, and pass the time in reading the scriptures or in prayer. During the two first days, they suffer both from hunger and thirst; but afterwards, the sense of hunger being blunted, they suffer chiefly from thirst. After the third or fourth day, they appear for the most part dull and drowsy, their breath becomes in a high degree offensive,

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of the belly, and the cavity of the stomach, cause hunger, which, either being filled with food, or contracted by continued privation, the longing desire and craving for food is extinguished.' The same Erasistratus observes too," says he, "that the Scythians, when occasion required, in order to endure hunger longer than usual, applied a very tight bandage round the belly; and they thought that by this compression of the belly hunger was prevented." These and other observations Favorinus, with the greatest affability, communicated. And when, some time after, I read Erasistratus's first book of Distinctions, I met with the passage which I had heard Favorinus quote. His words upon the subject are these: "I supposed, therefore, from the violent contraction of the belly, a great abstinence from food had taken place; for generally, to those who abstain by choice from food, at first hunger arises, but after a time it ceases." So, a little further on, "The Scythians are wont, when upon any occasion it is necessary for them to fast, to bind up the belly with broad belts, in order to subdue their hunger; for when the stomach is nearly full, or has no vacuity in it, they are then not hungry, and when

offensive, and their pulse sinking, is variably quick and slow. On the evening of the sixth day, at the expiration of the fast, they moisten the throat with a few spoonfuls of oil of almonds, and afterwards sip chicken broth. They return, by slow degrees, to the use of solid food, and it is a long while before they recover their former appetite."

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the body is thus pressed together it has no vacuity." In the same treatise Erasistratus says, that the intolerable power of hunger, which the Greeks call *βελιμον*, (the hunger of an ox) happens more frequently on very cold days than when the weather is serene and temperate; and he says, he has not yet discovered the causes why that disease prevails particularly at such a time. These are his words: "It is yet unknown, and worthy of enquiry, on account of this and other disorders of the kind, why, particularly in cold weather rather than in temperate, this symptom appears."

CHAP. IV.

The form of words in which the herald proclaimed war against their enemies.—The form of oath concerning military thefts.—That soldiers enrolled were, within a fixed time, to assemble in a particular place.—On what account they might sometimes be freed from their oath.

CINCIUS¹, in his third book *de Re Militari*, writes, that the herald² of the Romans, when declaring war against an enemy, threw a

¹ *Cincius.*]—This person lived in the time of Hannibal; by whom, according to Vossius, he was taken prisoner. Besides the treatise on Tactics, which is here quoted, he is said to have written the History of Hannibal in Greek. He is quoted in two or three places by Macrobius.

² *Herald.*]—*Fecialis.* These were twenty in number, and decided upon every thing which related to the declaration of war or making of peace. All the ceremonies of doing these have been given in detail by Varro, Livy, Dionysius, &c.

Every thing preceding the declaration of war was conducted in the most formal manner. The herald first went to demand compensation for injury received; this was repeated at the interval of ten days; finally, war was declared with the circumstances mentioned in this chapter.

The form of the oath, and indeed every thing which this chapter involves, will be found by the more curious reader amply discussed by Lipsius *de Militia Romana*.

javelin into their territories, and made use of these words: " Because the Hermundulan people, and the men of that people, have waged war against the Roman people, and thereby given cause of offence, and because the Roman people have commanded war to be declared against the Hermunduli and the men of that nation, therefore I pronounce and wage war upon the Hermunduli and the men of that people."

And in the 5th book of the same Cincius is this passage: " When formerly a levy was made, and troops were enrolled, the military tribune administered to them an oath in this form: ' In the magistracy of Caius Lælius, the son of Caius the consul, and Lucius Cornelius, the son of Publius the consul, in the army and ten miles round it, you shall, neither alone nor with confederates, commit theft, nor take away, upon any occasion, any thing of more value than a silver coin. Beyond this, if any spear, spear-staff, wooden utensil, provender, bladder, purse, torch, whatever you may have found or carried away, not being your own, of more value than a silver coin, you shall bring it to Caius Lælius, the son of Caius the consul, or to Lucius Cornelius, the son of Publius the consul, or to whom he shall appoint; or you shall make known, within three days following, what you have found, or improperly taken away, or you shall restore it to the person you suppose to be its right owner,

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that you shew yourself disposed to do justice."

When the foldiers were enrolled, days were fixed for their appearance, at which time, when called upon by the consul, they answered. The oath which bound them to appear was drawn up with these exceptions; namely: "If any of the following reasons occurred, a domestic funeral, a tenth day feast³, or any calendar celebration, which could not be observed unless he was present, an infectious disease, or an omen which he could not pass by without ablution, or an anniversary sacrifice, which could not proceed unless he were there on that day, or a lawsuit with an adversary, and a day appointed; if any of these causes occur, the prevention is legal; but on the day after such hindrance, he shall repair to that district, village, or town, which has been appointed." In the same book also is this passage: "He who was absent without legal excuse

³ *Tenth day feast.*]—The *feriæ* or holydays among the Romans were either public or private. The *feriæ denicales* were among the latter, and were instituted by way of purifying a family from the contamination of a dead body.

Funeral feasts in honour of the dead were common in all oriental countries. See Jeremiah, xvi. 6, 7. and Harman's Observations on Passages of Scripture. The object and effect of both *feriæ* were alike, to console the survivors. See also Ezekiel, xxiv. 17. where we learn, that the friends of the deceased sent provisions for these funeral feasts to the house.

was termed *infrequens* *." In the sixth book we find, " The knights ranks were called the wings of the army, because they were placed on the right and left of the legions, like wings upon the bodies of birds. In a legion there are sixty centurions, thirty standard-bearers, and ten cohorts."

* *Infrequens*.]—It is not easy to explain the precise meaning of this term. In the fourth book of the Stratagems of Frontinus this passage occurs:

Cum a Liguribus in prælio Q. Politius cos. interfectus esset, decrevit senatus uti ea legio in cujus acie consul erat occisus, tota *infrequens* referretur stipendium ei annum non daretur, æraque rescinderentur.

Again, in Plautus, we find *infrequens* thus used:

Quin ubi nihil det pro infrequente eum mittas militia domum.

But when

His purse is closed, dismiss him from her service
Like a deserter.

This is the interpretation of Plautus, and is the most probable interpretation of the word.

For the remainder of this chapter, the reader will do well to consult Lipsius, which again will receive farther illustration, to be found in the Military Antiquities of Britain, by General Roy, published by the Society of Antiquaries.

CHAP. V.

Meaning and form of the word vestibulum.

WE have many words in common use, of whose proper and exact signification we are yet ignorant; but, following the common acceptation without examining it, we rather *seem* to say what we mean, than really do say it. As *vestibulum* is a word perpetually occurring in conversation, but by no means sufficiently understood by those who use it without reserve. I have observed that some, even learned men, thought the *vestibulum* was the first part of the house, which is commonly called *atrium*, (the hall). Cæcilius Gallus, in his book upon the meaning of words used in the civil law, says, “that the *vestibule* is not either in the house nor a part of the house, but is a vacant space before the gate of the house, through which there is an open way and access to the house, while on the right and left, between the gate and the house, which are united, to this way a space is left, and the gate itself is divided from this way by an *area*’.”

* *Area.*]—A similar definition of the *vestibulum* is given by Macrobius,—*Vestibulum aream dici quæ a via domum dividit.* The French have a peculiar mode of expressing a house, which has what is here represented as an *area* or *vestibule* before it; they call it *entre cour et jardin.*

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The meaning of this word has caused much dispute; and all the observations upon it that I have read have been awkward and absurd; but I remember Sulpitius Apollinaris, a man of elegant accomplishments, spoke thus of it: "The particle *ve*, like some others, has sometimes an intensive and sometimes a privative power; for in *vetus* and *vehemens*, the one is compounded of *væ* and *etas*, and part of it is lost, the other is derived from *vi mentis*. But the word *vescum*², which is formed by compounding the particle *ve* and *esca*, receives the power of each opposite interpretation. Lucretius uses *vescum salem* in expressing an inclination to eat. Lucilius uses *vescum* in speaking of fastidiousness in eating. Formerly, they who built large houses left a space before the gate that there might be a vacancy between the road and the house. Persons who came to wait upon the master of the house stop-

² *Vescum*.]—Consult Servius on the third Georgic, v. 175.

Nec vefcas falicum frondes.

Servius interprets vefcas by ficcas. Our Martyn calls the vefcas frondes, tender leaves. Servius quotes this line from Afranius—

At puer est vefcus, imbecillus viribus.

Where vefcus means thin or lean, so that the commentators are at variance about this word, some making it eatable, others the contrary.

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ped here before they were admitted, and thus neither stood in the street nor were actually in the house. Thus, from this pompous waiting-place³, this (*stabulatio*) room to stand in, they were called *vestibula*, great spaces, as I said before, left before the doors of the house for persons to wait in before they were admitted. We must remember that this word is not always used by the ancients in its original signification, but in a secondary one, which is not however far removed from the proper meaning, as in the sixth book of Virgil—

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci,
Luctus & ultricis posuere cubilia curæ.

Here he does not call the *vestibule* the first part of the infernal habitation, although it might be

³ *Waiting place.*]—Among the slaves who filled the palaces of the great and opulent men at Rome were some called *servi officiosi*; these, according to Pignorius de Servis, always waited for orders and employment in the vestibule. This custom of waiting to salute the great is mentioned by most of the ancient writers, but particularly by Juvenal—

Tota salutatrix jam turba peregerit urbem, &c.

Again, the same author—

Omnia Romæ,

Cum pretio, quid das ut Cossus aliquando salutes.

Seneca laughs at this flattering crowd and contemptible custom; his words are, "In pectore amicus non in atrio quaeritur."

thought

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 215

thought to be so called. But he describes two places before the gates of Orcus, the *vestibule* and the (*fauces*) jaws, of which *the vestibule* he describes as situated before the habitation itself, before the *penetralia* of Orcus; but the jaws he calls a narrow passage, through which *the vestibule* is approached.

CHAP. VI.

The victims called bidentes; why so named.—Opinions of Publius Nigidius and Julius Higinus on this subject.

IN our way from Greece, we touched in our vessel at Brundisium¹. There a lecturer in the Latin language, from Rome, exhibited himself in public, having been sent for by the Brundisians for this purpose. For the sake of amusement I attended this man, for my mind was weary and languid from the rolling of the sea. He was reading, in a barbarous and ignorant manner, the seventh book of Virgil, which contains this line:

“Centum lanigeras mactabat rite *bidentes*.”

He desired any person to ask him what question he thought proper. Surprized at the confidence of this illiterate man, I said, “Tell us, Sir, what is meant by *bidentes*?” “*Bidentes*,” replied he, “means sheep, and they are termed *lanigeræ*, (woolly) to denote more fully that they are sheep.” “Now,” said I, “we shall see whether sheep

¹ *Brundisium*.]—Whoever returned from Greece, or any part of Asia, to Rome, necessarily put in at Brundisium. See Strabo, book 6. who describes the distances and places from the coast to Rome. Brundisium is now called Brundisi.

alone, as you say, are called *bidentes*, and whether Pomponius, the poet of Atella, was wandering among the barbarians of Transalpine Gaul, when he wrote—

Mars tibi voveo facturum,
Si unquam redierit, *bidenti* verre.

To Mars, when his return shall glad these eyes,
A boar of two years old I'll sacrifice.

But I wish to know what you suppose to be the derivation² of this word." He then, without any delay, but with a good deal of assurance, said, that sheep were called *bidentes*, because they had but two teeth. "Where in the world, I beg," said I, "have you seen a sheep which, by nature, has only two teeth? Behold a prodigy! we must perform the ceremony of ablution." Angry then with me, and disconcerted, "Propose," says he, "such questions as are proper to put to a grammarian, for shepherds converse upon

² *Derivation.*]—See Macrobius, Saturnal. vi. 9. and Servius, at the fourth *Æneid*, line 57.

Bidens is also used for an agricultural instrument. See *Georgic* 2. ver. 354.

Seminibus positis superest deducere terram,
Sæpius ad capita et duos jactare *bidentes*,

This Martyn explains to be the instrument with two hooked iron teeth, which our farmers call a drag.

In Gruter's Inscriptions it is worth while to remark, that the expression of *sacerdotes bidentales* occurs.

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the teeth of sheep." I laughed at the blockhead's humour, and left him. But Publius Nigidius, in his book upon Entrails, says, that not only sheep, but all victims of two years old, were called *bidentes*; but he has not explained why. But what I before supposed, I find confirmed in some records treating of the pontifical office, that they were at first called *bidennes*, from *biennes*, with the insertion of a letter; then, by use, the word became corrupted, and from *bidennes* was made *bidentes*, because that appeared of more easy pronunciation. But Julius Higinus, who appears to have been well acquainted with the pontifical office, in his fourth book upon Virgil affirms, that those victims were called *bidentes* which by their age had two prominent teeth. These are his words: "The victim called *bidens* should have eight teeth, and two of these more prominent than the rest, by which it is plain that they are proceeding from youth to maturity." Whether this opinion of Higinus be true or not, is to be determined, not by arguments, but by ocular demonstration.

CHAP. VII'.

Laberius has licentiously introduced many words; he has also used many, the latinity of which is suspicious.

LABERIUS, in his Mimes, has used too much licence in inventing words; for he uses *mendicimonium* and *mæbimonium*, *adulterionem* and *adulteritatem* for *adulterium*, and *depudicavit* for *stupravit*, and *abluvium* for *diluvium*; and, in his Cophinus he has written *manuatus est* for *furatus est*; and in his Fuller he calls a thief *manuarius*. “*Manuari, pudorem perdidisti—*” “Thief, thou hast lost thy shame.” Many words of this sort he invents, and sometimes uses obsolete words, or those which are only spoken by the lowest dregs of the people; as in his Spinners: “*Tollet bonâ fide vos Orcus nudas in*

* Little can be said in way of comment on this chapter, which can possibly entertain the English reader. Barthius has vindicated Laberius, p. 1269 of his *Adversaria*; so has Turnebus, and so has Rutgerius; this latter says, that Gellius has calumniated Laberius in calling him the inventor of the word *Cocio*; he only borrowed it.

The term *Cocio* occurs twice in Plautus; once in the *Afinania*, and once in the *Miles*.

These *Mimæ* are mentioned by Stephens, and their fragments collected. See article *Laberius*, in the *Fragmenta Poetarum Veterum*. It is probable that which is here printed *necyomantia* should be *necromantia*.

Cato-

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Catonium;" and he has the expressions *elutriare lintea*, & *labandria*, speaking of things sent to the wash, and he says "*collicior in fullonicam*," and *quid properas quid præcurris Caldonia?* and in his Rope-maker, he has "*calaburriunculos*," which we usually call *calaburriones*; and in his Compitales, *malas* he terms *malaxas*; and in his Cædœmemnon, are these lines—

Hic est ille gurdus quem ego,
Me abhinc duos menses ex Africâ
Venientem, excepiſſe tibi narravi.

This is that fool who ſome two months ago
Received me, as I told you, when I came
From Africa.

In his Mime called Natal, he uſes the word "*obbam*" *camelliam piſtatium* & *capitium*, as "*induis capitium tunicæ pittacium*." Moreover, in his Anna Perenna, he has *gubernium* for *gubernator*, (a pilot), *planum* for *ſycophante*, (a ſycophant), and *nanum* for *pumilio*, (a dwarf); however, Marcus Cicero uſes *planum* for *ſycophantâ*, in his Defence of Cluentius. In his Mime, called Saturnalia, he calls *farcimen*, *botulum*, and uſes *hominem levenam* for *levem*; and, in his Necromantia, he uſes frequently *cœtio* for the old word *ærulor*. Theſe are Laberius's words: "*Duas uxores, hoc hercle plus negotii eſt* (inquit Cocio ſex ædiles viderat);
but

but in his *Alexandrea* he has used a Greek word in its vulgar sense appositely and properly, namely, *emplastrum**, neutrally, in the following passage—

Quid est jusjurandum? Emplastrum æris alieni.

* *Emplastrum*.]—Salmasius assigns these verses to Lucilius; their meaning is, What is an oath? Why, a way to get out of debt.

CHAP. VIII.

Meaning of what logicians call axiom: other observations on the elements of logic.

WHEN I wanted to be instructed in^{*} the rudiments of logic, it was necessary to study and to know what logicians call the introductions, and in the first place to learn the *axioms*, which
 Marcus

^{*} *Instructed in.*]—Imbui vellemus. Thus in a fragment of Cicero, preserved in Nonius Marcellus: ad sapientiam concipiendam imbui & præparari decet.

On what is here meant by axioms, consult the various readings of Muretus, where we find that axioms were not understood to convey the same meaning in the ancient as in the modern schools of logic; axiomata sunt quas in scholis hodie propositiones vocant. Cicero calls them enuntiationes. De Fato, c. 1.

According to Diogenes Laertius, Chromachus Thurius was the first who wrote on axioms. He was followed by Chrysippus. The first Latin writer on this subject was L. Ælius Stilo.

Every thing relating to the logic of the different sects of philosophers among the ancients will be found agreeably and perspicuously compressed in Dr. Enfield's useful History of Philosophy. What can we say, concludes this writer, concerning the whole business of dialectics, as it appears to have been conducted by the stoics, but exclaim with Seneca:

O pueriles

Marcus Varro sometimes calls *profata*, and sometimes *proloquia*. I inquired diligently for the commentary of Lælius (a learned man, and the instructor of Varro) upon these *proloquia*. Having met with this book in the library of the Temple of Peace, I perused it, but found nothing which gave me any instruction or information. Lælius seems to have composed this book rather to help his own memory, than to instruct others. I returned therefore from necessity to my-Greek, where I found an axiom defined in these words, "a proposition perfect and self-evident." I sat down to translate this, because it was expressed in new and abstruse terms, which my ears, from want of use, could not endure. But Marcus Varro, in his twenty-fourth book upon the Latin language, addressed to Cicero, thus clearly defines it: "A proloquium is a sentence in which nothing is deficient." But its meaning will be more clearly shewn by an example; *an axiom* therefore, or *a proloquium*, is of this kind: "Hannibal

O pueriles ineptias, in hoc supercilia subduximus? in hoc barbam demissimus; hoc est quod tristes docemus et pallidi.

Seneca, however, in another place, seems rather to be afraid of the alluring and fascinating power of these pursuits.

Hoc habent sophismata in se pessimum, dulcedinem quandam sui faciunt, et animum specie subtilitatis in ductum tenent et remorantur.

was

was a Carthaginian. Scipio destroyed Numantia. Milo was convicted of murder. Pleasure is neither a good nor an evil." And whatever is so spoken, as a full and perfect sentence, so that it must necessarily be either positively true or false, this by logicians is called *axiom*; that is, a proposition containing a perfect truth or falsehood. This was called, as I said before, by Marcus Varro, *proloquium*, but by Marcus Cicero *pronuntiatum*, which term he said he only used, till he should be able to find a better.

But what the Greeks call συνημμενον αξιωμα, a connected axiom, some of our writers call *junctum*, others *connexum*. This connected axiom is as follows: "If Plato walks, Plato is moved. If it be day, the sun is upon the earth." So likewise what they call συμπεπλεγμενον (involved) we call *conjunctum* or *copulatum*, and is of this kind: "Publius Scipio, the son of Paulus, was twice consul; he triumphed, and discharged the office of censor, and in his censorship was the colleague of Lucius Mummius." But in every instance of this involved axiom, if there be one falsehood, although the rest be true, the whole is pronounced false. For if to all these truths which I have spoken of Scipio, I should add, that "he conquered Hannibal in Africa," which is false, all these things which are united with it, on account of this one falsehood, will be deemed false, because they are said

said at the same time. There is also an axiom which the Greeks call *διεζευγμενον*, disunited, we *disjunctum*; it is of this kind: "Pleasure is either evil or good, or it is neither good nor evil;" but all things which are thus separated should be contrary to each other. These opposites the Greeks call *αντικειμενα*, and they are adverse to each other. Of things thus separated, one should be true, the others false. But if it happens that of these things nothing is true, or all be true, or more than one be true, or if those which are separated do not oppose, or they which oppose are not properly contrary, then this is a false separation, and is called *παρδιεζευγμενον*, as in the following proposition things opposed are not contrary: "either you run, or walk, or stand still;" for though these things are adverse to each other, yet when opposed they are not repugnant; for not to walk, nor run, nor stand still, are not contrary to each other. Those things are called contraries which cannot at the same time be true; but you may at one time be so circumstanced as neither to walk, nor stand still, nor run. But it will be enough to have given this little taste of logic. I have only to add, and to urge by way of advice, that although the study and attention to this science in its rudiments may prove dull, disgusting, and useless, yet as soon as

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you have made a little progress, its advantage will so impress your mind, that an insatiable fondness for it will succeed, to which, unless you fix some limits, there will be no small danger left, among the mazes and meanders of logic, you should grow old, as among the rocks of the *Syrens*.

CHAP. IX.

Signification of the term, which frequently occurs in the old books, susque deque.

SUSQUE deque¹ fero, or *susque deque habeo*, (for both these phrases are used) is an expression to be found in the conversation of the learned in poetry, and frequently in the epistles of the ancients. But you will more readily find persons who use this phrase, than those who understand it. Thus, many of us, who have found a few abstruse words, are in a hurry rather to apply them, than to learn their true meaning. *Susque deque ferre* means to be of an unmoved mind, and to pay little attention to any thing that happens; sometimes it means to neglect and despise, and has nearly the same power as *αδιαφορεῖν*, to be indifferent. Thus Laberius in his *Compitales*:

¹ *Susque deque.*]—We have a common phrase in English which exactly explains these words: we say the ups and downs of fortune or of life. It has now ceased to be considered as elegant and correct; but our older writers used it without scruple.

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Nunc tu lentus es, nunc tu *susque deque fers*,
Materfamilias tua in lecto adverso² fedet,
Servos sextantis verbis nefariis utitur.

Marcus Varro, in his *Sisenna*, or *Traët on History*, uses, quod si non horum omnium similia essent principia ac postprincipia³ *susque deque* esset. Lucilius in his third *Satire* too :

Verum hic ludus *susque* omnia *deque* fuerunt,
Susque & deque fuere, inquam, omnia ludus
jocusque,
Illud opus durum ut fetinum arcessimus finem.

Αἰγίλιποι montes, *Ætnæ* omnes asperi *Athones*.

² *Lectus adverso.*]—This has allusion to a peculiar custom, which is sufficiently explained in *Gesner's Thesaurus*. The *lectus adversus* was the genial or nuptial couch, and was erected adversum januæ, in the atrium, opposite to the janua or principal gate. Here the mistress of the family sat at work with her maids. See an elegant introduction of this circumstance in *Propertius*, from *Cornelia*, the wife of *Lepidus*, who is thus supposed to address her children :

Seu tamen adversum mutarit janua lectum
Sederit et nostro cauta noverca toro, &c.

³ *Postprincipia.*]—This is a word of somewhat uncommon occurrence ; we find it however in *Plautus* :

Atque edepol firme ut quisque rem accurat suam,
Sic ei procedunt postprincipia denique.

See *Terentius Varro*, with *Scaliger's* notes. The word *postprincipia* again occurs in the 18th chapter of this book.

CHAP. X.

*Who those are, called proletarii and capiti censi.
Meaning of the word assiduus in the Twelve
Tables, with its formation¹.*

ONE day, when there was a cessation of business in the forum at Rome, and a jovial festival was celebrated, in an assembly where many

¹ *Proletarius.*]—Thus, in Plautus, *sermo proletarius* is used as synonymous with mean, vulgar, &c.

See the *Miles Gloriosus*, act. iii. 1. v. 157.

Quin tu istanc orationem hinc veterem atque antiquam amoves,

Nam *proletariq. sermone* nunc quidem hospes utere.

Which Thornton thus renders:

Away now with such antiquated stuff,

The ordinary cant of common folks.

The *proletarii* & *capite censi* were ranked together in the sixth class of Roman citizens, as they were divided by Servius Tullius. See Heineccius, p. 152.—See also on this subject Dionysius Halicarnassensis, from whom it appears that the *proletarii* were considered as of no farther utility to the state than by supplying it with children; and the *capite censi*, qui præter caput et nomen nihil admodum in censu profiterentur. We find the words caput and capita used in an infinite variety of significations. Thus

Q 3

we

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many of us happened to meet, the third book of Ennius's Annals was read, in which are these lines—

“ *Proletarius publicitus scutisque ferroque*
 “ *Ornatur, ferro muros urbemque forumque*
 “ *Excubiis curant.*”

Immediately a debate began upon the meaning of the word *proletarius*. I then addressing myself to a friend of mine in the company well versed in law matters, requested that he would explain the word to us. He answered, that he was a lawyer, and not a grammarian; “therefore,” said I, “you ought the rather to explain it, being, as you say, a lawyer; for Ennius took this word from your Twelve Tables, where, if I rightly remember, these words occur: ‘*Affiduo vindex affiduus esto. Proletario cui quivis volet vindex esto.*’ Do not now suppose that we are reading one of Quintus Ennius’s Annals, but the Twelve Tables, and explain to us what is the meaning of *civis proletarius*.” “I (said he) might be expected to interpret this if I had learned the laws of the Fauni and aboriginal possessors of the land; but since such words as *proletarii*, *adsidui*, and

we have *libera capita*. The legal phrase, as applied to slaves was, *eos caput non habere*, that is, they were nonentities. These terms also are both used by Arnobius, adversus gentes:—*definite hominem proletarius cum sit classicis, et capite cum censeatur, adscribere ordinibus primis.*

senates,

senates, fell into disuse, and when sureties, under sureties, fines of twenty-pence, laws of retaliation, and trials for theft conducted cum lance & licio, have been abolished, and the whole ancient scheme of the Twelve Tables, except that part of it relating to the suits of the centumvirs, has, by the Æbutian law², been done away, it is necessary for me to apply myself to the study of such laws and words as are now in use." It happened at this moment that we saw Julius Paulus passing

² *Æbutian law.*]—We know nothing of this law, or of the person who introduced it. There is, indeed, the disputed fragment of a monument, on which Lucius Æbutius is called a tribune of the people, and commended for abolishing those laws of the Twelve Tables which were useless to the state, and injurious to individuals. The word *assiduus*, which occurs in this chapter, may be better explained by, one who could pay money, *qui asses dare possit*.—Thus Plautus uses it in the *Amphitryon*:

Noctesque diesque *assiduo* fatis superque est,
Quod factu aut dicto adest opus, quietus ne sis.

Thornton has not happily rendered this passage.—He says,

This is the hardship of a great man's service,
Wherefore his servant leads a plaguy life on't;
By day, by night, there's work enough, and more,
That will not let him rest.

Of *assiduus*, Festus gives a different signification.

Assiduus dicitur qui in ea re quam frequenter agit quasi consedisse videatur. But he also adds the interpretation given above. He mentions, moreover, a third meaning, *qui sumptu proprio militabat*.

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by, the most learned poet in my memory. We saluted him, and begged him to explain to us the meaning and derivation of that word: "They," said he, "who were of the lowest and poorest rank among the Roman people, and were not estimated to be worth more than fifteen hundred pieces of brass, were called *proletarii*; they, however, who were rated at nothing, or a very trifling estimate, were said to be *capite censi*; and the lowest of all rates was three hundred and seventy-five pieces: but as goods and money appeared as a sort of hostage and pledge to the republic, and was as it were a bond and security for their patriotism, so none of the *proletarii*, or *capite censi*, were enrolled as soldiers, unless in some extraordinary tumult, because their domestic ties were slight, or none at all. But the *proletarii* were somewhat higher, both in rank and name, than the *capite censi*; for in the troublesome times of the republic they were levied indiscriminately, because there was a scarcity of recruits, and arms were provided for them at the public cost; and these forces were not called *capite censi*, but by the more auspicious name of *proletarian*, from their duty, and office (*prolis edendæ*) of providing children; because, though they could not assist the state much in money, yet they could supply it with abundance of children. Caius Marius, as some say, in the Cimbrian war, and in very perilous times, or rather, according

to Sallust, in the Jugurthine war, first enrolled the *capite censi* as soldiers, a thing unheard of before. *Adfiduus* (a surety) used in the Twelve Tables for a rich man, and one ready to contribute money when the exigencies of the state demanded it, or from his readiness to perform any duty incident to his station. Sallust's words, in his history of the Jugurthine war, concerning Caius Marius, and the *capite censi*, are these: 'he then began to enlist soldiers, not after the manner of his ancestors, nor with any regard to their ranks; but all who were willing, and chiefly the *capite censi*.' Some thought this was done through the scarcity of proper men, and others to answer the consul's ambitious views; because he was highly honoured and applauded by that class of people, and because to one in search of power the most indigent person is the most convenient."

C H A P. XI.

Story, from Herodotus, of the destruction of the Pfylli, who lived in the deserts of Africa¹.

THE race of the Marfi in Italy is said to have sprung from Marfus, the son of Circe. To the men of this race, whose families were not yet stained by the mixture of any foreign alliance, it was given, by a certain hereditary power, to become subduers of noxious serpents, and to perform wonderful cures by incantations and herbs. This same power we see certain persons called *Pfylli* possess; for an account of whose name and origin, having searched old books, I

¹ I have endeavoured to illustrate the passage and circumstance which is here quoted concerning the *Pfylli*, in my translation of Herodotus, vol. ii. page 332. to this place I beg leave to refer the reader; I add, however, two passages which I omitted in that work. See Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 758. where the Marfi are thus mentioned—

Neque enim juvare in vulnera cautus,
Somniferi et Marfis quæsitæ montibus herbæ.

See also Silius Italicus, l. viii. 496.

At Marfica pubes
Et bellare manu et chelydri cantare soporem,
Vipereumque herbis hebetare et carmine dentem.

at last found in the fourth book of Herodotus this story of the *Pfylli*; that they inhabited that part of Africa which borders upon the Nafamones; that at a certain time the south wind blew upon their territories with great violence and for a long time; by this wind their waters were dried up, and the *Pfylli*, deprived of their supply, grievously resented the injurious treatment, and it was decreed that they should proceed to attack the wind with arms, and to demand reparation, as from an enemy, by the forms of war. The wind, when they marched out, met them with a vehement blast, and overwhelmed their whole force, and all their arms, beneath heaps and mountains of sand. By this incident the *Pfylli* perished to a man, and the Nafamones took possession of their country.

C H A P. XII.

Of those words which Cloatius Verrius, properly or otherwise, has derived from the Greek.

CLOATIUS VERRIUS¹, in his books on words taken from the Greek, has made some observations which are curious and ingenious, and others foolish and trifling. He says, the word *errare* (to wander) is from *ερρειν*, and produces from Homer, *ερρ' εκ νησθ θασσον, ελεγχιστε ζωοντων*. He likewise derives *hallucinari*² (to blunder) from *αλυειν*, whence he says comes the word *elucum*, the letter *a* being changed into *e*, descriptive of that sluggishness and stupidity of mind which is usual with blundering people. *Fascinum* (a charm) he derives from *εασκανον*, and *fascinare* (to fascinate) from *εασκαινειν*. All this is ingenious and well enough. But in his fourth

¹ *Cloatius Verrius*.]—By some this grammarian is called *Cloatius Verus*.

² *Hallucinari*.]—See, concerning this word, *Salmasius ad Solinum*, p. 1279.—This critic derives *hallucinari* from the Greek word *αλυκη*. *Pfellus de antiquis Medicinæ Vocabulis*, —*αλυκη η μετ εκλυσεως απορια*. *Erotianus in Lexico*—*αλυκη απορια μετα χασμεης*, inde *alucinari* Latinum, ita enim hoc verbum scribunt omnes libri veteres, &c.

book he says, "*fænerator* (an usurer) is quasi φαί-
 νεράτωρ, from φαίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστότερον, because
 this kind of men pretend to be compassionate
 and accommodating to poor people who want
 money." This remark, he says, was made by
 Hypsicrates³ a grammarian, who has written
 some noble treatises upon words taken from the
 Greek. But if Cloatius himself, or any other
 blockhead, made this remark, nothing can be
 more stupid, for *fænerator*, as Marcus Varro has
 explained it in his book on the Latin language,
 comes from *fænus* (interest), *fænus* from *fætus*
 (the womb) as if from a certain womb of money,
 which produces and increases; and therefore he
 says that Marcus Cato, and others of that age,
 used to pronounce *fænerator* without an *a*, like
fætus and *fæcunditas*.

³ *Hypsicrates*.]—This person is not to be confounded
 with an historian of the same name, who is quoted by
 Lucian.

CHAP. XIII.

*Meaning of municipes. Of municipium, and wherein it differs from colonia. Power and formation of this word. What the emperor Adrian said in the senate concerning the municipes*¹.

THE words *municipes* and *municipia* are very easily and very commonly applied, and you never meet with a man who uses them, but he supposes that he clearly knows their meaning. But,

¹ Gibbon on the subject of this chapter has the following passage: "The municipal cities insensibly equalled the rank and splendor of the colonies, and in the reign of Hadrian it was disputed which was the preferable condition, of those societies which had issued from, or those which had been received into, the bosom of Rome."

The historian then, referring to this chapter of Gellius, adds in a note:

"The emperor Hadrian expressed his surprize that the cities of Utica, Gades, and Italica, which already enjoyed the rights of municipia, should solicit the title of colonies; their example however became fashionable, and the empire was filled with honorary colonies."

The whole subject of these *municipia*, *coloniæ*, &c. is discussed at length by Heineccius; from him we learn, that at first the *municipia* were confined within the limits of Italy, afterwards

But, in truth, one thing is meant and another expressed ; for who is there that, coming from any Roman colony, does not call himself a *municip**ceps*, and his countrymen *municipes*, which is very far from reason and the truth. So we are in the same manner ignorant of what and how great a difference there is between *municipia* and *colonia* ; and we are apt to suppose, that *colonies* are more privileged than *municipal* towns. Upon the errors of this confused notion the divine Hadrian has descanted very judiciously in his oration concerning the Italicenses, among whom he was born. Speaking before the senate, he said, he wondered why the Italicenses, and many other municipal bodies, such as the Uticensians, while they might live according to their own customs, and be governed by their own laws, should be anxious to be converted into colonial bodies ; whereas, he relates, that the inhabitants of Præneste requested with the greatest earnestness of the emperor Tiberius, that from a colony they

afterwards, as the Romans extended their empire and their conquests, many of the distant provinces were made *municipia* ; but of these *municipia* there were three gradations of rank. See Festus at the word *municipium*.

The first Roman colonies were propagated in this manner : Into the first cities which Romulus conquered he sent colonies from Rome, who were considered as a kind of garrison, or security, for the places to which they were sent.

See Adams also in his chapter on the Rights of Roman Citizens.

might

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might be changed to the state of a municipality. Tiberius granted their request from gratitude, because upon their territories, and near their town, he had recovered from a dangerous sickness. The *municipes*, therefore, are persons who from the municipal towns are, in right of their municipality, Roman citizens, governed by their own laws, and partakers only of honorary privileges with the Roman people, and appear to be so called *a munere capeffendo* (from taking offices²); they are bound by no compulsion or law of the Romans, except that they had placed themselves under their power. The Cærites³, we learn, were

• *From taking offices.*]—As soon as any of these *municipes* chose to fix their residence at Rome, they were called *cives ingenui*. Thus it might happen that the same individual, at the same time, enjoyed the highest offices of Rome, and dignities of the place which gave him birth; and Milo, when candidate for the consulship at Rome, was dictator of Lanuvium, his native city. The municipal town where a person was born was called *patria germana*, and Rome, *patria communis*.

² *Cærites.*]—What Strabo says of this people is worthy of consideration here.—See his fifth book. Speaking of the people of Italy, he says thus of the Cærites,

The deeds of the Cærites may here be mentioned. They overcame the Gauls who had taken Rome, and took forcibly from them the plunder which the Romans had voluntarily ceded to them. They preserved also the Roman fugitives, the sacred fire, and the Vestal virgins. And the Romans indeed, on their account, who at that time but badly governed the city, do not seem to have been sufficiently mind-
ful

were the first who were made a municipal body without the power of voting; they were permitted the honour of being called Roman citizens, but were exonerated from offices and taxes, on account of their having recovered and protected some sacred things in the Gallic war; hence those are called *tabule cerites*, upon which the censors ordered the names of those to be inscribed whom they deprived of their vote. But colonies stand in another relationship: they have no footing in the state from any extrinsic right, nor do they claim it by their origin, but they are as it were offsprings of the state, and are of necessity subject to the laws and institutes of the Romans; which condition, though it be more exposed and less free, is yet deemed more desirable and respectable, on account of the amplitude and majesty of the Roman people, of which these colonies seem to be little copies and resemblances, and because the privileges of municipalities become obscure and obliterated from their ignorance of their proper claims.

ful of the kindness they had experienced; for they gave them the rights of the city, but did not enrol their names among the citizens.

CHAP. XIV.

Marcus Cato thought that properare differed from festinare. How absurdly Verrius Flaccus has explained the origin and meaning of festinat¹.

THE words *festinare* and *properare* appear to mean the same thing, and to be spoken upon the same occasions; but Marcus Cato thinks they differ, and has thus separated them in an oration upon his own virtues:—"It is one thing *properare*, another *festinare*. He who accomplishes a thing thoroughly, *properat* (hastens); he who begins many things without perfecting them, *festinat* (hurries.)" Verrius Flaccus, willing to explain the reason of this difference, says, that *festinat* comes from *fando*, because indolent people, who can complete nothing, are more

¹ Nonius Marcellus makes a similar remark about *festino* and *propero*. If the reader can appropriate distinct meanings to the two words, as thus used by Virgil, he will not, I believe, find it an easy matter to express or define in words,

Et mediis properas aquilonibus ire per altum.

And

Festinate, viri, nam quæ tam fera moratur
Segnities.

prone to words than actions. But this appears too forced and absurd. Nor can the first letter of a word be of such consequence, that on that account alone such different words as *festinare* and *fari* should appear the same. It appears more probable that *festinare* is as it were *fessum esse* (to be weary) for he who is wearied with hastening many things at once ceases to hasten, and becomes wearied; *non properat sed festinat.*

CHAP. XV.

*Wonderful account of partridges by Theophrastus,
and of hares by Theopompus* ¹.

THEOPHRASTUS, a very celebrated philosopher, says, that in Paphlagonia, all partridges have two hearts. Theopompus affirms, that in Bisaltia hares have two livers.

¹ What Theophrastus and Theopompus relate of partridges and hares is confirmed by Ælian in his *Various History*, but will probably meet with the ridicule it deserves from our modern proficients in natural history.

See also, on this subject, Athenæus, book ix. chap. 10. by whom some circumstances are related concerning the feathered tribe far more extraordinary. Pliny also, book xi. c. 37. relates, that in Paphlagonia partridges have two hearts.

CHAP. XVI.

They whose birth was difficult and unnatural were called agrippas. Of the two goddesses Prosa and Postverta'.

THEY at whose birth the feet appeared before the head, which is the most difficult and dangerous mode of parturition, are called *agrippæ*, from *ægritudo* (difficulty) and
pes

* The ancients imagined that those labours, in which the children presented their feet, were necessarily difficult and dangerous. This they thought was occasioned by the arms of the children being raised, and lying on each side of the head, and thence increasing the bulk, and consequently the difficulty of passing through the pelvis; but it is now known that the difficulty and danger sometimes attendant on these births only occur when the pelvis is of diminished capacity or distorted shape, or when the fœtus is unusually large. When the pelvis and fœtus are of the usual dimensions, such births are ordinarily as safe, and nearly as expeditious, as when the child presents itself in its natural position. The opinion that the arms in these cases contributed to the difficulty is totally unfounded, as they are always brought down with the greatest ease as soon as the shoulders have emerged, and consequently before the head is completely engaged in the pelvis.

The goddess Prosa or Prorsa was supposed to preside over natural births, Postverta over those which were the contrary.

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pes (a foot); but Varro says, that children are placed in the womb with their legs upwards, not like the natural position of a man, but a tree, for he calls the branches of a tree, feet and legs, the stock and trunk the head. "When therefore," says he, "contrary to nature, they are turned upon their feet, and retained in the womb, with their arms extended, women are delivered with great difficulty." For the purpose of deprecating this calamity, altars were erected at Rome, near the two temples of Carmenta², one of which was called Postverta, the other Prosa, from the different power and names of the different births, *natural and the contrary*.

See Salmasius ad Solinum, where also the curious reader may be entertained with a learned and subtle dissertation on the etymology of the word *agrippa*.

² *Carmenta*.]—This personage was supposed to be the mother of Evander, and to have had the gift of prophecy. After her decease she was deified, and sacred rites offered to her, which were called Carmentalia. See the eighth *Æneid*, v. 335.

His posuere locis matrisque egere tremenda
 Carmentis nymphæ monita, et deus auctor Apollo;
 Vix ea dicta dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
 Et Carmentalem Romano nomine portam,
 Quam memorant nymphæ priscum Carmentis honorem
 Vatis fatidicæ cecinit quæ prima futuros
 Æneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.

CHAP. XVII¹.*Meaning of the word Vaticanus.*

WE have been told that the word *Vatican* is applied to the hill, and the deity who presides over it, from the *vaticinia*, or prophecies, which took place there by the power and inspiration of the god; but Marcus Varro, in his book on Divine Things, gives another reason for this name. "As Aius²," says he, "was called a deity, and an altar was built to his honour in

¹ The first sounds which infants first articulate have often been a subject of serious argument as well as of ludicrous discussion. A story of this kind is agreeably related in Herodotus. The subject of this chapter again occurs at book xix. chap. 7. of Gellius.

² *Aius.*]—See Cicero, who relates the same fact. L. de Divinat. ii. 32. At paulo post audita vox est monentis, ut providerent ne a Gallis Roma caperetur; ex eo Aio loquenti aram in nova via consecratam.

Plutarch also, in his life of Camillus, says the same of Aius; and Livy, l. v. c. 50. and 52. where is this passage

Expiandæ etiam vocis nocturnæ, quæ nuncia cladis ante bellum Gallicum audita neglectaque esset, mentio illata, jussumque templum in nova via Aio Locutio fieri.

At the foot of the hill called The Vatican, is the church of Saint Peter, and the palace of the Pope, each of which edifices is separately denominated The Vatican.

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the lowest part of the new road, because in that place a voice from heaven was heard, so this deity was called *Vaticanus*, because he presided over the principles of the human voice; for infants, as soon as they are born, make the found which forms the first syllable in *Vaticanus*, and are therefore said *vagire* (to cry) which word expresses the noise which an infant first makes.

CHAP. XVIII.

Some agreeable things to be known and remembered in that branch of geometry called οπτική.—Of those also called κανονική and μετρική.

THERE is a part of geometry, which relates to vision, called optics¹; another part, relating to the hearing, is called canonic, on which musicians depend for the first principle of their art. Each of these consists of certain spaces, lines, and proportions of numbers. Optics can effect many wonderful things, as the representing in one speculum different images of the same object. A glass, placed in a certain position, shews nothing; turn it, and it shews many images. You may look straight forward at a glass, and your own image so appears, that your head is downwards, your feet upwards. This science too

¹ *Optics.*]—Dutens, in his agreeable and ingenious enquiry into the origin of the discoveries attributed to the moderns, cites this chapter of Aulus Gellius to prove the proficiency of the ancients in the science of optics:

“Aulus Gellius having spoken of mirrors that multiplied objects, makes mention of those that inverted them, and those of course must be concave or convex glasses.”

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explains the fallacies of vision, so that objects seen in the water appear magnified², and why things at a distance appear smaller; but the canonic science measures the compass and height of the voice: the measurement of its compass is called *ρυθμος* (rhythm); of its height, *μελος* (melody). And there is another branch of the canonic art called *μετρικα* (metrical) by which the position of long and short syllables, and those which are neither long nor short, and the modulation, is measured by the ear, upon geometrical principles. "But as for these things," says Marcus Varro, "we either do not learn them, or we leave off before we know why they ought to be learned; but the pleasure and advantage of them exists, when we have made great progress and proficiency beyond the principles of the art; but in learning them, they appear frivolous and disagreeable."

² *Appear magnified.*]—See Seneca, Qu. Nat. l. i. c. 6. I take the translation of Dutens.

The smallest characters in writing, even such as almost escape the naked eye, may easily be brought to view by means of a little glass bottle filled with water.

The reason he gives, as Dutens has not mentioned it, is here added.

Quia acies nostra in humido labitur, nec apprehendere quod vult, fideliter potest.

CHAP. XIX.

Story of Arion, from the History of Herodotus.*

HERODOTUS has related the story of Arion the musician in a style distinguished alike by its spirit and its smoothness; by its elegance and its perspicuity. The ancient and celebrated

* The story of Arion is to be found in the eighth book of Herodotus, with no important variation.

The expression *cobibilis*, which occurs in the first sentence of this chapter, is not of very usual occurrence, it doubtless is the same as *pressa*.

The term also of *amatum* seems worthy of attention. Herodotus by no means intimates, that there was any such connection betwixt Periander and Arion as *amatus* will allow. A corresponding sentence is pointed out by Falsteus, in what he calls his *Admonitions* to those who read Gellius, from Ælian's *Various History*, Πτολεμαῖος ἐρωμενον εἶχε Γαλετην. It is not unworthy of remark, that Huetius, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, is fully persuaded that the fable of Arion is borrowed from the history of Jonah. He descends to some particulars in the comparison, which are rather ludicrous: as in the whale's belly Jonah sung a hymn, and conciliated God, so Arion did the dolphin by his lyre.

In the *Anthologie Francoise* I find the following anecdote, the insertion of which seems pertinent in this place:

Pierre de Chateauneuf was stopped on a journey by some robbers;

celebrated Arion (says he) was a player upon the harp: he was a Lesbian, born at Methymne. Periander, king of Corinth, held Arion in great regard and affection, on account of his art. After a time he left the king, to visit Sicily and Italy, in both which places he so charmed the ears and the minds of the inhabitants, that he obtained at once considerable profits, and a great share of admiration and esteem. Laden with money, and all kinds of wealth, he resolved to return to Corinth; he chose therefore a vessel and a crew that were Corinthian, as better known, and more friendly to him; but the Corinthians, having received Arion on board, and put to sea, began to consult about killing him for the sake of his wealth. He, perceiving that his death was determined, gave them his money and his goods, entreating them to spare his life. The sailors were so far moved by his supplications, that they refrained from putting him to death themselves, but commanded him immediately to leap into the sea. The man, alarmed and deprived of all hope, finally requested, that before he encountered death, they would permit him to dress himself,

robbers; having first plundered, they were about to kill him; he entreated that before they put him to death they would vouchsafe to hear one of his songs; they consented, and were so delighted with his singing, that they restored him all his property. This story, says the narrator, is worth almost as much as that of Arion.

to

to take his harp in his hand, and to sing a song consolatory of his misery. The cruel and inhuman sailors desired to hear his music; he obtained therefore his request, and clad in his accustomed dress, ornamented and standing upon an exposed part of the ship, with a very loud voice he began to sing the strains called Orthian. Having finished his song, he threw himself, with his harp, and in his full dress, from the spot whereon he had stood singing, into the deep. The sailors, taking it for granted that he had perished, proceeded on their course; but behold a wonderful and awful circumstance took place; a dolphin swam towards him, and receiving him on his back, carried him through the waves; uninjured in his person, and even his dress, it landed him at Tænarus in Laconia, whence he proceeded to Corinth, to king Periander, to whom he presented himself in the same habit as he had been carried by the dolphin, and related to him what had happened; the king, not believing this, ordered Arion to be confined as an impostor; but the sailors were artfully interrogated (Arion being absent) whether they had heard of Arion? They answered, that when they came away, he was in Italy, in good health, and high in reputation, and the esteem of the cities, and that he abounded in prosperity and wealth. As they uttered these words, Arion, with his harp and the garments in which he had cast himself into the sea, came forth;

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forth; the sailors were astonished and convicted, and could no longer deny the fact. This story is related by the Lesbians and Corinthians, and in testimony of the tale, two brazen images were to be seen at Tænarus, of the dolphin carrying, and the man riding.

B O O K XVII.

CHAP. I.

Gallus Asinius and Largius Licinius have censured an opinion in Cicero's oration for Cælius, and what may truly and forcibly be urged in vindication of this opinion against foolish people.

AS there have appeared some men so monstrous as to inculcate impious and false opinions concerning the immortal gods, so have there been some too, whose folly was so extraordinary (among whom are Gallus Asinius^{*}, and
Largus

^{*} *Gallus Asinius.*]—This Asinius Gallus was the son of the celebrated orator Asinius Pollio; he was himself also an orator and a poet. He wrote a work in which he compared the eloquence of Cicero with that of his father, and gave the preference to the latter. This book had, after the death of the author, the honour of being answered by an emperor. Claudius wrote, says Suetonius (Vit. Claud. c. 14.) *Cicero- nis Defensionem adversus Asinii Galli Libros, satis eruditam, a tolerably*

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Largius Licinius, whose book even bears the infamous title of *Ciceromastix*) that they have ventured to commit to writing a censure upon Mar-

tolerably learned defence of Cicero against the books of Asinius Gallus: this is according to the general account of the commentators; but it is rather more probable, that the answer of Claudius was directed to the work here mentioned, intituled *Ciceromastix*. The other performance is mentioned by Pliny the Younger, as in part the occasion of a copy of verses written by him on the subject of Cicero, but according to our ideas, far from honourable either to himself or the person celebrated: he says, "legebantur mihi libri Asinii Galli de Comparatione Patris et Ciceronis." The books of Asinius Gallus, in which he compares his father with Cicero, were read to me in my Laurentian villa, and his verses begin—

Cum libros Galli legerem, quibus ille parenti
Ausus de Cicerone daret palmamque decusque.

See his epistles, b. vii. ep. 4. The death of this Gallus was very miserable:—Having excited the jealousy of Tiberius, by paying too much court to Sejanus, he was, by a secret order of the emperor, arrested at the very table of Tiberius himself, kept alive in great misery, and finally, says Tacitus, starved to death, whether voluntarily or by compulsion is uncertain. The account of his arrest is well told by Brotier, in his supplement to the fifth book of the Annals of Tacitus, cap. 17—20. on the authority of Dion. The coadjutor of Asinius Gallus in the *Ciceromastix*, Licinius Largus, is a man of much less fame; little is known concerning him, except what is here told. It is pleasing to remark the high veneration in which Cicero was held at Rome by men of good taste, from the epithet here given to the title of this attack. It was called, says Gellius, *infundo titulo*, *Ciceromastix*; that is, called by a name not fit to be pronounced.

cus Cicero, as an author who spoke without accuracy, propriety, or elegance. There are many censures of theirs not worthy to be spoken of, or of the least attention; but as the following is a passage wherein they appear to consider themselves as most acute critics, let us examine their remark. Marcus Cicero, in his defence of Cælius, says, "as for what has been said to the prejudice of him as a modest man, and has been urged by all his accusers, not in the form of an accusation, but with reproaches and calumnies, Marcus Cælius will not take that so much to heart as to repent (*ut pæniteat*) that he was not born deformed." They do not think that *pæniteat* here is properly used, and even go so far as almost to affirm that it is absurd. For, say they, we apply the word *pænitere*, when speaking of things which we ourselves have done, or which were done with our consent and will, if those things afterwards begin to displease us, and we change our sentiments concerning them; but no man can with propriety say, he repents that he was born, or that he is mortal, or that he feels pain from any attack or wound in his body, since in matters of this sort there is no design or will of our own, but they happen to our bodies unfought for, and by the force and necessity of nature: thus, they say, it was not a matter of choice to Cælius with what form he was born, of which he said he did not repent; as if there were

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any cause for repentance in it. This, they say, is the meaning of the word, and *pœnitet* is not properly used but in matters where the will is concerned. However, our ancestors used this word with a different signification, as if derived from *pæne* and *penuria*; but this, not being to our present purpose, shall be spoken of in another place; but as for the usage of it in this sense, which is the common one, Cicero's application of it is not only not improper, but is in the highest degree witty and elegant; for as the opponents and calumniators of Marcus Cælius, who was a very handsome man, made even his person and his beauty the cause of insinuations against his modesty, Cicero, alluding to so absurd an imputation, as that of criminating a man on account of the form which nature had given him, has deliberately applied the word with the same error as that which he was ridiculing; "and (says he) Marcus Cælius does not repent that he was not born deformed," in order that by this very phrase he might reproach the accusers, and expose them to ridicule for their foolish charge against the person of Cælius, as if it were a matter of choice² to him with what sort of a person he was born.

² *Matter of choice.*]—This answer of Gellius is acute, but at the same time appears to be sound. The enemies of Cælius objected his beauty to him, as if it had been a crime of which he was guilty; but it was a fault, says Cicero, of which he could not be brought to repent.

As a concluding remark to this chapter, it may be added, that it is not improbable that Gellius had some particular authors in view, both those whom he reprehends as atheistical writers, as well as the cavillers against Cicero. Of the former, among the Greeks, were Prodius, Protagoras, &c. and the whole tribe of Epicureans, who denied the divine providence; of the latter, many are enumerated in the Bibliotheca Latina of Fabricius, particularly Didymus and Dio Cassius.

CHAP. II.

Cursorfory remarks on the first book of the Annals of Quintus Claudius.

WHEN I have taken up any old book, I have always endeavoured, in order to improve my memory, to retain and recur to any passages it contained, which might be worthy of commendation or of censure, and this proved a very useful exercise in supplying me from time to time, as occasion required, with the recollection of elegant sentences; as for instance, in the first book of Claudius's ¹ Annals, which I had read two days

¹ *Q. Claudius.*]—This is the Q. Claudius Quadrigarius often mentioned before. It is a curious instance of one in-

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days before, I marked, as far as I remember, the following passage : “ Many (says he) fling away their arms, and hide themselves (*inlatebrant sese*) unarmed.” Here *inlatebrant* seems a poetic, but not an absurd or a harsh word. “ While these things are done (says he) the Latins with great earnestness (*subnixo animo*) ;” as if he had said *sublime et supra nixo*, a word which denotes no accidental force, but a resolution and confidence of mind, since we are as it were lifted up and exalted by things we strive with. He bids them (he adds) each return to his own house, and enjoy (*fruisce*) his possessions. This was a word not often used in the time of Cicero, and since then very seldom indeed ; and some ignorant people have doubted whether it be Latin or not ; but it is not only Latin, but more elegant and ornamental than

veterate error persisted in throughout the copies of a work, that Nonius Marcellus cites almost all the passages of uncommon words, and that in every instance Cælius is there read for Claudius. In the common editions of Nonius, *fruisce* is also read for *frunisce*. Vossius, in his Etymol. thus derives this word ; a *fruor* est *fruisce* et *frunisce*, nempe ut *jecur* et *jacinor*, *iter* et *itiner*, *dixere*, sic *fruor* et *fruinor* : ac ut a *fruor* esset *fruisce*, sic a *fruinor*, *fruinisce*, et κατὰ συνηκον frunisce. *Infrunitus* has been used by Seneca and others in the sense of stupid, rude, which has puzzled the learned to make the sense accord to the derivation. The able critic above-mentioned, after trying various methods without much success, is constrained to introduce *frunio* as derived from φρουνω, which consequently leaves *infrunitus* very ready to accept the sense of αφρων.

fruor,

fruor, and as *fatiscor* comes from *fateor*, so *fruiscor* from *fruor*. Quintus Metellus Numidicus, who appears to have been thoroughly conversant with the purity of the Latin language, writes thus to the Domitii when he was in banishment: "They are cut off from all equity and honour; I want neither fire nor water, while I enjoy (*fruniscor*) the highest reputation." Nævius, in his play called *Parcus*, uses the word thus:

The covetous enjoy not their possessions,
While he who spares not, what he has enjoys.

"The Romans," says he, "abound in (*copiantur*) arms, provisions, and great spoil." The word *copiantur* is a military term, nor will you often find it made use of by law writers, and it is adopted by the same figure as *lignantur*, *pabulantur*, and *aquantur*. He observes, that *sole occaso* is a phrase of considerable beauty to an ear of good and correct taste; but in the Twelve Tables, the word is thus used: "before noon hear the cause², the litigants being present: noon being past, if only one be present, give judgment in his favour; if both be present, '*sol occasus*,' at the setting of the sun, let the proceedings of the court cease." "We (says he) use the phrase, '*in medium relinquemus*;' the common people

² *Hear the cause.*]—The original is *ante meridiem causam conficito*. Heineccius, in his chapter *de Officio Judicis*, reads *causam conjicito*, which Turnebus also approves.

say, ‘*in medio*,’ thinking the other inaccurate; nay, they consider it as a solecism to say, ‘*in medium ponere*’;” and yet, if one examine this phrase attentively, it must appear more proper and expressive; and in Greek, this phrase, *θεῖναι ἐς μέσον*, is not improper. “As soon as it was told (says he) that a battle had been fought *in Gallos* (against the Gauls) the state was alarmed.” Now the expression, *in Gallos*, is more neat and elegant than *contra Gallos*, or *cum Gallis*, which are awkward and obsolete phrases.

“At the same time (he continues) he was distinguished by his person, his conduct, his eloquence, his dignity, his vehemence, his fidelity, so that he might surely be supposed to possess (*magnum viaticum*) a great stock of accomplishments.” This phrase is used in a new sense for great talents and attainments, and seems to be in imitation of the Greeks, who transfer the word *εφοδιον*, signifying preparation for a journey, to preparation³ of any other kind; and often *εφοδιον* has the sense of our *institute*, *instrue*, (appoint, begin.) “Marcus Manlius (says he) whom I before mentioned, saved the capitol, and whose assistance, together with that of Furius the dictator, the republic of Rome found particularly (*comprimè*) powerful and irresistible against the

³ Preparation]—Thus also in Greek, the term *τα σκευη* is used indefinitely for any kind of preparation; and in Polyænus, *τα σκευη ναυτη* is used for the dress of a sailor.

Gauls; he was second to no person in birth, in strength, or in courage." *Adprimè* is a word frequently used, *cum primè* but seldom; it seems derived from *cum primis*, when used for *in primis*. "He has no occasion (says he) for riches (*divitiis*)." We say *divitias*; nor is that an impropriety, for that was the regular form with many of the ancients; and there can be no reason given why *divitiis* and *divitias* are not equally right, unless people observe the new institutes of the grammarians as consecrated ground. "Herein, (says he) lies the injustice of the Gods; the worst men prosper most⁴; and they do not allow the best to tarry (*diurnare*) long with us." *Diurnare* is here used rather uncommonly, for *diu vivere*, but by the same figure as we use *perennare*. "He conversed (says he) *confermonabatur* with them." *Sermonari* appears vulgar, but is right; *sermocinari* is usual, but corrupt. He said he would not do even that, (*ne id quoque*) which he then advised. *Ne id quoque* is used for *ne id quidem*, an unusual expression, but very frequent in ancient authors. "Such (says he) is the sanctity⁵ (*sanctitudo*) of the

⁴ *Prosper most.*]—Dr. Beattie has expressed this idea with great beauty, in an elegy on the death of a lady:—

Oh death! why arm with cruelty thy power,
And spare the weed, yet crop the lovely flower.

⁵ *Sanctity of the temple.*]—Speaking of Zeuxis, Cicero has this

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the temple, that no one has presumed to violate it." With no less propriety *sanctitas* and *sanctimonia* are used in Latin, but *sanctitudo* has somewhat more dignity. As Cato thought it was more forcible to use the word *duritudinem* than *duriciem*, when speaking against Lucius Veturius: "Who had known (says he) the audacity and the hardened mind (*duritudinem*) of this man, when such a pledge (*arrabo*) was deposited by the Romans in the hands of the Samnites." He called the 600 hostages *arrabo*, and chose that word in preference to *pignus*, because the power and force of this word is here greater as well as more pointed: but *arrabo* has now fallen into disuse, and *arrha*⁶ appears more proper, and was frequently used by the ancients. He uses this expression—" Oftentimes did they pass miserable lives in perpetual labours (*in laboribus*); and (he says) this opportunity was lost in their idleness, (*in otiiis*). " In each of these examples, elegance is attained by the use of the plural num-

this expression concerning a temple of Juno, which the painter had adorned with the productions of his art.

Is et cæteres complures tabulas pinxit, quarum nonnulla pars usque ad nostram memoriam, *propter fani religionem*, remansit.

⁶ *Arrha*.]—The arrha was the earnest penny given in bargains. Barthius says it is a Hebrew word: Arrabo vero vox pure Hebraica est.—Venantius Fortunatus, a modern Latin poet, calls the death of Christ arrham salutis, the earnest penny of salvation.

ber. "Cominius (says he) came down by the same passage as he had ascended, and thus deceived the Gauls (*verba Gallis dedit*).” He says, Cominius “*verba dedit Gallis*,” though he had not spoken to any one, nor had the Gauls, who besieged the capitol, even seen him ascending or descending; but *verba dedit*, means nothing more than you would express by *latuit atque obrepfit*. “The vallies (says he) and shrubberies (*arboreta*) were great.” *Arboreta* is a vulgar word, *arbuscula* more dignified. “They thought (says he) that the persons in the citadel and those without held communication and counsel together.” *Communtiones* is here used not very commonly, but not improperly or inelegantly, for *collationes*, *conferences*, *communications*.

I noted down at my leisure these few things from that book, as my memory, after reading it, supplied.

CHAP. III.

Observation from Varro's twenty-fifth book on Human Affairs, where he interprets a verse from Homer contrary to the received opinion.

IN one of those conversations where we have often discussed the inventions of human sagacity for common use, a young man of some learning observed, that in Greece, the use of the word *sparti* was for a long time unknown, and was introduced there, many years after the fall of Troy, from Spain. One or two ill-bred and ignorant men, such as the Greeks call *αγοραιοι* (coarse), who were present, ridiculed this observation by laughing, and said, that he must have perused a copy of Homer in which this line was wanting—

“Και δὴ δῖα σείσηπε νέων καὶ σπάρτα λελυταί.”

He in his turn angrily replied, “it was not my copy that wanted this line, but it was you who wanted an instructor, if you suppose that *σπάρτα* there signifies what we call *spartum*,” (*a rope*). At this they laughed still louder, nor would have ceased, unless Marcus Varro's twenty-fifth book
had

had been produced by him, in which Varro makes this remark upon that line in Homer. "I think that *σπαρτα*, in Homer, means no other-wise spartum, (*a rope*) than the word *σπαρτες*¹, which signifies a kind of broom², said to grow about Thebes. The Liburnians had then no

¹ *Σπαρτες*.]—When Cadmus sowed the dragon's teeth, and armed men arose from the soil, these were called *σπαρτοι* or *sowed*, from having been thus produced. I confess I am by no means satisfied whether *σπαρτοι* in this place alludes to them or not; if it does, what follows is pertinent. Five of these survived the mutual slaughter by which the greater part was destroyed. Ovid says,

Quinque superstitibus, quorum fuit unus *Echion*.

Five remained, of whom Echion was one. The other four are named by Apollodorus, Bibl. iii. 1. and by the Scholiast, on the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides, v. 949. they were *Udæus*, *Chthonius*, *Hyperenor*, and *Pelor* or *Pelorus*. The Scholiast cites *Æschylus* as authority for these names. They are all significant; *Udæus* and *Chthonius* both mean earth-born; *Echion* signifies a serpent; *Hyperenor* denotes great strength and courage; and *Pelorus* great bulk. Echion, continues the Scholiast, married Agave, daughter of Cadmus, by whom he had Pentheus. It was the boast of the noblest families of Thebes that they were descended from these *Sparti*, or *Gegenes*, as they were also called. It was a common opinion, that the descendants of this race bore a natural mark, in the form of a lance, upon the body; to this Aristotle alludes: *Λογχὴν ἐν φερεσι Γηγενῆς*; "the spear borne by the Gegenes," where he is speaking of natural marks. Poet. xvi.

² *Broom*.]—Of which broom a kind of cable appears to have been made. On the subject of this letter consult *Salmasius ad Solinum*, 264. edit. Paris, 1629.

knowledge

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knowledge of ropes, for they chiefly secured their ships with thongs, while the Greeks used hemp, coarse flax, and other plants, which they called *σπάρτα*." Since such is Varro's opinion, I doubt whether the latter syllable in that word ought to be acutely accented, unless that words of this kind, when applied in their proper instead of their usual signification, are distinguished by a difference of accent.

CHAP. IV.

What Menander said to the poet Philemon, by whom he was often undeservedly overcome in poetical contests. Euripides also was often vanquished in tragedy by very mean writers.

THrough interest, and the power of party, Menander was frequently overcome in the dramatic contests by Philemon¹, a writer by no means

¹ *Philemon.*]—Quintilian alludes to the same circumstance respecting the preference given to Philemon. After praising Menander very highly, he adds, "habent tamen alii quoque comici, si cum venia legantur, quædam quæ possis decipere, et præcipuè Philemon, qui, ut pravis sui temporis iudiciis, Menandro sæpe prælatus est, ita consensu omnium meruit

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means his equal. Menander meeting him once by chance, said to him, "Tell me, I request, and excuse me for asking, Philemon, do you not blush when you carry away the prize from me?" Varro says that Euripides, though he wrote seventy-five tragedies, was victorious only in five contests, while some very stupid poets were decreed conquerors. Some say that Menander left one hundred and eight, some one hundred and nine comedies. I have met in a book written by Apollodorus, an eminent author, these lines upon Menander. The book is intituled *Chronica* :

From Diopeithes of Cephisium
He sprung, and fifty years and two he lived,
And wrote an hundred comedies and five.

meruit credi secundus." "The other comic writers, however, if read with indulgence, have some passages worthy of selection, and particularly Philemon, who, as he was frequently, by the false judges of his own time, preferred to Menander, is by general consent allowed the next in merit to him." Inst. x. i.

So difficult is it to preserve impartiality in human decisions of any kind, that we here find interest and corruption interfering even with the contests for poetical honours: thus, we are told, that Pindar was adjudged inferior to Corinna. Contests of this kind were of great antiquity in Greece. Plutarch, in the fifth book of his *Symposiacs*, says, that prizes for eloquence were given by Achilles at the funeral of Patroclus, and by Acastus at that of his father Pelias. In the decisions upon comedies at Athens there were originally five judges, whence Suidas cites this proverb, *ἡ κρίσις πεντακτασι γινέσθαι*, sc. *κρίται*, "it depends upon the five judges." The same number of judges presided also in Sicily on such occasions.

The

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The same Apollodorus informs us in the same book, that of these one hundred and five plays, only five were rewarded with the prize.

CHAP. V.

It is by no means true what some superficial students of rhetoric have supposed, that Cicero, in his book on Friendship, used a vicious argument, the ambiguous for the acknowledged. The whole of this investigated and explained.

CICERO, in his dialogue intituled *Lælius*, or *de Amicitia*, wishes to inculcate, that friendship is to be cultivated not from motives of interest, and the expectation of advantage, but to be ardently pursued, and esteemed for a quality inherent in itself, which is replete with virtue and honour, although no assistance or advantage should be reaped from it. He has expressed this sentiment in these words, which he puts into the mouth of Caius Lælius, a wise man, and the particular friend of Scipio Africanus: "What advantage can Africanus expect to derive from me, or I from him; but I am attached to him from
my

my admiration of his virtue, while he has conceived a regard for me, perhaps, from some favourable opinion of my manners, and habit has increased our attachment; but although many and great advantages have proceeded from this, yet our affection did not flow from such expectations; for as we desire to confer benefits without hope of a return (for we do not sell benefits usuriously, but confer them from a natural propensity to liberality) so we are of opinion that friendship is a valuable attainment, not from the expectation of any profit, but from the benevolence produced by itself."

This passage happened to be read in a company of learned men, when a sophistical rhetorician of some note, who was skilled in each language, and well versed in those little turns and witticisms which the logicians called τεχνικοί¹, (artificial) practice, and having withal talents for disputation, said, he thought that Cicero had used an argument which had neither proof nor illustration in it, but was in fact a part of the question itself; and he called this error by some Greek terms which he had learned, ἀμφισβητημένου² ἀντι τὸ ὁμολογούμενον, ("an instance taken from

¹ Τεχνικοί.]—I do not find any illustration of this term better than that which is given in the notes to the Variorum.

² Ἀμφισβητημένου, &c.]—This is what is called in English begging the question; by the logicians, *petitio principii*.
Wallis

from a disputed point, instead of a proved one"); "for," says he, "Cicero quoted men of liberality and benevolence to confirm a disputed point relative to friendship, when in fact the usual and proper subject of debate is, if a man act with liberality and munificence, with what intention or design is he liberal and munificent: it is either because he expects a return, and wishes to excite him to generosity upon whom he confers the benefit, which is a frequent case; or it is because he is by nature prone to liberality, and benevolence and munificence are in themselves gratifying to him, a thing which very rarely happens." He thought that arguments should be proved, or very clear, and by no means disputable. He said "that figure was called ἀποδείξις,³ (illustration) by which doubtful

Wallis defines it thus: "Quando assumitur id quod erat probandum, sive eisdem verbis id fiat, sive quæ tantundem significant, aut quæ præsumunt quod erat probandum." "When that is assumed which was to be proved, whether it be done in the same words, or in equivalent expressions, or such as presuppose the matter in dispute;" as if, says Watts, "A papist should pretend that his religion is the only catholic religion, and is derived from Christ and his Apostles, *because it agrees with* the doctrine of all the fathers of the church, all the holy martyrs, and all the christian world throughout all ages: whereas this is a great point in contest, whether their religion does agree with that of all the ancients and the primitive christians or no." Logic, iii. 3.

³ Αποδείξις.]—Quintilian uses this as a Latin word, calling it apodixis, l. v. c. 10.

Hanc

ful or obscure questions were made clear by plain and undoubted truths; and that in order to prove what was said of friendship, he ought not, as an argument or illustration, to have taken these men of liberality and munificence. By the same fiction and shew of reason, friendship itself may in its turn be quoted as an argument, if any one should advance that men ought to be generous and liberal, not through the hope of gain, but from affection and the love of honour. Such a reasoner too might say—for as we embrace friendship not for the sake of advantage, so we ought to be munificent and liberal, not through the hope of meeting a return. He might indeed argue thus; but neither can friendship be adduced as an argument for liberality, nor liberality for friendship, when either of them is the subject of dispute.” Thus did this logical artist harangue, and, as some thought, with skill and learning; but in truth he was ignorant of the meaning of these terms; for Cicero calls a man *beneficum* and *liberalem* in the philosophical sense of the word, not one who, as he says, deals in benefits with usury, but one who confers a favour without any secret view to his own advantage; he by no means therefore used an obscure or ambiguous argument, but one plain and perspicuous, for if

Hanc, et ab epicheremate differre Cæcilius putat, solo genere conclusionis, et esse apodixin imperfectum epicherema, &c.

any one be really generous and liberal, we do not enquire into his motives. He takes a very different name, who, in doing such acts, looks more to his own advantage than that of his neighbour, and this reprehension might have made some advance even upon this sophist, if Cicero had said any such thing as this; for *as we act beneficently and liberally, not looking for any reward.* To act beneficently might appear possible even to a man not generally beneficent, if the action were performed through some accidental circumstance, rather than from any fixed principles of generosity; but when he speaks of munificent and generous people, meaning only those whom we have mentioned, he immediately (and, as the proverb says, without wetting his feet) furnishes a direct and express refutation to the arguments of this very learned man.

CHAP. VI¹.

It is not true what Verrius Flaccus, in his second book on the Obscurities of M. Cato, has said concerning the servus receptitius.

MARCUS CATO, when proposing the Voconian law, made use of these words :
 " A woman at first brought with her a vast dowry,

¹ Pompeius Festus seems exactly to have copied Verrius Flaccus in this point. He says, receptitium servum Cato in suasionem legis Voconiae cum ait, significat qui ob vitium redhibitus sit—ubi irata facta est, servum receptitium sectari atque flagitare virum jubet." Nonius Marcellus adopts the opinion, and nearly the words, of Gellius. This sense of recipio is admitted by the civilians, and well illustrated by Gronovius in his notes on Seneca's Consolatio ad Marc. c. x.

The passage quoted from Plautus by Gellius, is in the Trinummus, act. 1. sc. 2. l. 157.

Donatus, in a note on the Afinaria of the same author, says; that dotalis servus means the same thing; the lines there are:

Dotalem servum Sauream uxor tua
 Adduxit, cui plus in manu sit quam tibi.

Saurea the slave,
 Your wife brought with her on her marriage, has
 More money in her hands than you have, Sir.

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dowry, and yet retains a large sum of money which she does not entrust to the power of her husband, but she lends him that money; afterwards, in a fit of rage against him, she orders a slave of her own (*servum receptitium*) to go and importunately demand the money of her husband." We debated about the term *servus receptitius*, when immediately Verrius Flaccus's Illustrations of Cato's Obscurities were enquired for and produced. In his second book, we find that a worthless slave, one of no value, who on any sale was given into the bargain, one who was returned, and taken again on account of some fault, was called *receptitius*; "therefore," says he, "a slave of this description was ordered to follow the husband, and demand the money, that his chagrin might be the greater, and the insult more intolerable, when a slave of the basest character dunned him for money." But if there be any who are led by the authority of Verrius Flaccus, with reverence to such be it spoken, that *servus recepti-*

The husband was supreme master over all the other slaves of the house; but this was under the government and direction of the mistress only.

Two of these slaves are mentioned by name in Suetonius; one in his 23d chapter of Illustrious Grammarians.

Remmius Palemon, an ancient grammarian, was, it seems, of this description. Suetonius calls him *Mulieris Verna*. The name of another of these slaves occurs in the 19th chapter of the History of Augustus.

Ad extremum Telephi mulieris servis nomenclatoris.

tius,

lius, upon the occasion on which Cato speaks, means something very different from the explanation given by Verrius Flaccus; and this is obvious to any one; indeed the matter is past all doubt. When a woman gave her dowry to her husband, then whatever possessions of her own she retained, not transferring them to her husband, these she was said *recipere*, which we say of things which at sales are kept back and not sold. Plautus uses this word in the following line of his *Trinummus*: “*Posticulum hoc recipit, cum ædes vendidit,*” that is, a part of the premises behind the house he did not sell but retained. Cato too, wishing to describe a woman as very rich, says, “She makes over to her husband a large dowry, and yet retains a great sum of money.” Out of this possession which she retains, she lends money to her husband; when in a rage she determines to have the money back again, she appoints her own slave to demand it, that is, a peculiar slave, whom with part of her fortune she had retained, and had not made over with the rest of her dowry; for this was an office in which a woman could not employ a slave of her husband’s, but her own. I pass over other arguments by which I could defend my opinion, for they are self-evident, both Verrius’s opinion and my own; but let every one adopt that which he thinks best.

CHAP. VII.

These words in the Atinian law, "QUOD . SUBREPTUM . ERIT . EJUS . REI . ÆTERNA . AUCTORITAS . ESTO," seem to P. Nigidius and Q. Scævola to have regard both to the past and the future.

THE old Atinian law contains these words :
 " If a theft shall have been committed, let the authority to take cognizance of the theft be perpetual." Who would suppose that the law has any other reference than to the future ? But Quintus Scævola says, that his father, and Brutus, and Manilius, men of high reputation for learning, enquired and doubted whether this law prevailed in cases of future theft only, or of those also already committed', because the words "*subreptum*

' *Already committed.*]—Cicero, whose authority might have been decisive with Scævola and his friends, cites this very law, among others, as a proof that it is contrary to all legal custom to give laws a retrospect to things done before they were enacted.

Cedo mihi leges Atinias Furias ipsam ut dixi Voconiam omnes præterea de jure civili, hoc reperiens in omnibus statui jus, quo post eam populus utatur.

In Verr. act. ii. l. 1. c. 22.

He is censuring Verres for using both *fecit* and *fecerit* in a decree, in order to give it a retrospective force.

See

reptum erit," appear to point to each tense, the present and future. Publius Nigidius, the most learned of the Romans, has noticed this doubt of theirs in the twenty-fourth of his Grammatical Commentaries; and he also questions the certain demonstration of the time; but he speaks very briefly and obscurely, so that you may observe he puts down hints rather to assist his own memory, than for the benefit of his readers. He seems, however, to say thus far, that the verbs *esse* and *erit*, when placed by themselves, hold and preserve their tense, but when joined with a preterperfect they lose their own power, and pass into that of the preterperfect. When I say *in campo est* (he is in the field), *in comitio est* (he is in the assembly), I speak of the present tense; and when I say *in campo erit* (he will be in the field) I speak of the future tense; but when I say *factum est*, *scriptum est*, *subreptum est*, although *est* be a verb of the present tense, it is confounded with the preterperfect, and loses its present sense: so likewise, says he, if in this law you divide and separate the two words *subreptum* and *erit*, as to understand *subreptum erit* like *certamen erit*, or *sacrificium erit*, then the law will appear to have reference to the future; but if you consider them

See what Rutgerfius in his Various Readings has said on this chapter of Gellius, p. 263. The date of this law cannot easily be ascertained; it is only certain that it existed before the time of Scævola, Brutus, and Nigidius,

so joined and mingled together, as that *subrap-
tum erit* be one word, formed by one tense in the
passive voice, then by this word is meant no less
the preterperfect than the future tense.

CHAP. VIII.

*At the table of Taurus the philosopher it was usual
to discuss questions of this kind; why oil will often
and easily congeal, wine seldom, acid hardly ever,
and that the waters of rivers and fountains freeze,
the sea does not.*

TAURUS the philosopher, when I was
at Athens, generally entertained me at his
house. When evening began, which was there the
usual time of supping, the substance and founda-
tion of his meal consisted in one dish of Ægyptian
lentil, with a gourd cut very small into it. This
being brought and put upon the table, one day
when we were waiting and expecting supper, he
desired the boy to pour some oil into the dish; this
boy was an Athenian lad, better than eight years
old, very lively, and full of the spirits natural to
his age, and abounding in the wit of his country:
he

he carelessly held the empty earthen cruet up to his face, as if oil was in it; he then takes and turns it, and beats it against every part of the dish, but no oil passed; the boy then eyes the cruet in a furious manner, and shaking it with double violence, turns it upon the dish. When we all by degrees laughed at this, though in a low tone, the boy said in Greek, and with a good deal of elegance, "Do not laugh, there is oil enough; but you do not know how cold it was this morning; the oil is congealed by the frost." "Rascal (says Taurus, smiling) go this instant, and fetch some oil." And when the boy went out to buy oil, he bore the delay without anger. "The dish (says he) wants oil, and is now in a state of great fermentation; but let us stop a little, and since the boy has informed us that oil is accustomed to congeal, let us consider why it is that oil frequently and easily becomes frozen¹, and wine so seldom."

¹ *Becomes frozen.*]—This curious question does not appear to be even yet entirely resolved. It is tolerably well agreed that liquidity depends upon the interposition of a certain quantity of heat or fire between the component particles of any body, which, when that quantity is withdrawn or lessened, coalesce and become fixed; but why some bodies become fixed sooner than others it is not easy to say. The gravity of the fluid is not the cause, as Taurus conjectures; for rectified spirits of wine, which are lighter than olive oil, can hardly be frozen by any means. Gellius himself was, therefore, nearer to the truth. The freezing of the sea
in

feldom." He addressed me, desiring my opinion. I replied, "that wine, I supposed, less easily congealed, because it contained certain particles of heat, was by nature more fiery, and therefore called by Homer αἰθοπα οἶνον (black wine²) and not, as some people supposed, on account of its colour." "It is," replied Taurus, "as you say, for it is plain that wine when drank, warms the body; but oil too contains the same particles of heat, and no less power in warming the body; besides, if the warmer things be less easily frozen, it follows that the colder bodies are soonest con-

in high latitudes is now so well known, that we cannot but think it extraordinary to see the veracity of Herodotus questioned upon this point. See my note on that author, b. iv. ch. 28. where I have adduced a passage of Macrobius, taken in part from this of Gellius, in which that author pretends that it is only the river water flowing into the sea which freezes, not the water of the sea itself.

² *Black wine.*]—Ernestus on Homer, Il. i. 462, where this epithet first occurs, calls the interpretation of it by Gellius a false refinement, and asserts, that Homer meant to speak of the deep colour of the wine as a proof of its goodness. Clarke puts in his note *generosum vinum*, as if he was inclined to adopt the interpretation of Gellius. Riccius, in his 17th Dissertation on Homer, says, "*potissimum vero niger color in vino celebratur ab Homero, qui passim αἰθοπα οἶνον laudat;*" but Riccius copied that passage and all that follows it from Feithius, stealing his very words. See Feith. *Antiq. Hom.* iii. 2. § 3. Now as the name of Feithius does not appear in the preface of Riccius, these thefts, which probably are frequent, cannot well be justified.

gealed; but vinegar is of all things the coldest, and yet never is congealed; is there not then some cause of quicker coagulation in the lightness of oil? for those things appear more prone to coagulation, which are lighter and less substantial. And (says he) it is worthy of enquiry, why the waters of rivers and fountains are hardened by the frost, while the whole sea is incongealable? However, Herodotus the historian, contrary to the opinion of all who have examined the subject, writes, that the Bosphorus or Cimmerian sea, and that whole sea called the Scythian, is coagulated and stopped up by the frost." While Taurus was speaking, the boy returned, our mess ceased its fermentation, and it began to be time for us to eat and hold our peace.

CHAP. IX.

Of certain marks of letters found in J. Cæsar's epistles; of other secret symbols taken from ancient history. Of the Lacedæmonian scytale.

THERE is extant a volume of letters from Julius Cæsar to Caius Oppius and Balbus Corvinus, who in his absence managed his affairs. In some of these epistles, particular letters are found unconnected with syllables, and placed as you would suppose without any design, for from these letters no words can be completed; but it was an agreed plan between them so to change the position of letters, as to give one the place and power of another, while in reading its proper place and power was restored to each; but the different substitution of these letters was, as I said before, agreed upon by the persons who engaged in this hidden mode of communication. Probus the grammarian has left some curious observations and comments upon the occult meaning of the letters found in Cæsar's epistles. The ancient Lacedæmonians, when they wanted to conceal and involve in mystery the public dispatches sent to their generals, lest, if intercepted,

their councils might be known to the enemy, wrote their letters in this manner:—there were two thin oblong twigs, cut of an equal length, and trimmed so as to resemble each other: one was given to the general when he went with the army, another the magistrates kept at home under their authority and seal; when they wished to carry on a private correspondence, they bound a piece of leather of moderate thickness and sufficient length round the twig, in a regular and simple manner, so that the ends of the leather which was bound round the twig met and were joined; within this leather they wrote letters transversely, the lines running from the bottom to the top. This leathern tablet, with its letters thus inscribed, rolled round the twig, they sent to the general who was aware of the device, but the unrolling of the tablet rendered the letters imperfect and mutilated, and divided the parts and heads of them, by which means, if the tablet fell into the hands of the enemy, they could collect nothing from it; but when he to whom it was addressed received it, applying the fellow twig in his possession to the end of the tablet, according to previous directions, he bound it round, and thus the letters uniting, by means of the same impression of the twig, were made perfect, and rendered the letter whole, undamaged, and easy to be read. This kind of epistle the Lacedæmonians called

scytale.

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*scytale*⁷. I have read too, in an old history of Carthage, that some great men there (whether Afrubal or some other I do not recollect) adopted this mode of concealing a letter written upon secret subjects: he took some new tablets not yet covered with wax, and cut letters in the wood, then covered them in the usual way with wax, and sent them, as if not written upon, to his friend, to whom he had given previous intimation of his design. His friend then rubbed off the wax, and read the letters plainly cut upon the

⁷ *Scytale*.]—The *scytale* was used on various occasions: we frequently find it mentioned on the recal of Lacedæmonian generals. Nothing can be given more explanatory of the manner of using it than this passage of Gellius; but it may be pleasing to see his account confirmed by another authority. Plutarch says, “they command him (Lyfander) home by their *scytale*, the nature and use of which was this; when the magistrates gave their commission to any admiral or general, they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal in breadth and thickness; one they kept themselves, the other was delivered to their officer; so that when they had any thing of moment which they would secretly convey to him, they cut a long narrow scroll of parchment, and rolling it about their own staff, one fold close upon another, they wrote their business on it. When they had written what they had to say, they took off the parchment and sent it to the general—he applied it to his own staff,” &c.—Life of Lyfander. A similar account is given by the Scholiast on Thucydides, i. 131. This very simple and inartificial mode of concealing their important orders, plainly illustrates the low state of the arts of ingenuity at Sparta.

wood.

wood. There is recorded also in the monuments of Grecian history another scheme, profound indeed, and not to be expected, invented by barbarian cunning. Histiaëus² was a man of some distinction, a native of Asia. King Darius at that time ruled over Asia, and this Histiaëus, when he was in Persia with Darius, wanted to send, in a secret manner, some private information to one Aristagoras, and he hit upon this extraordinary mode of writing: he shaved off the hair from the head of one of his slaves who had long had bad eyes, as if for the sake of curing him, he then marked the smooth part of his head with letters, writing there what he wished to express. He detained the man at home till his hair grew, and when that was done, he bade him go to Aristagoras, and, says he, when you arrive, tell him from

² *Histiaëus.*]—See Herodotus, v. 35, and the note on that passage in my translation. The anecdote is also related among the stratagems of Polyænus. The stratagem of the tablets would have been more artfully conducted if the contriver had written something on them when waxed, calculated to mislead, and to prevent all suspicion of the concealed writing; but the ancients seem to have been so little versed in artifices of this kind, that any shallow trick would succeed. Cæsar's secret writing would probably have been very easy to a modern decypherer. It may, however, be remarked, that Probus the grammarian, here mentioned as explaining those marks, is the first decypherer on record. He left a work also on the abbreviations used by the Romans in inscriptions, which is still extant; it may be found in the *Auiores Linguae Latinae*.

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me, to shave your head as I have done; the slave, as was ordered, went to Aristagoras, and delivered his master's message; Aristagoras, thinking some end was to be answered, did as he was desired, and the letters were discovered.

CHAP. X.

What Favorinus thought of those verses of Virgil, in which he imitates Pindar in his description of the conflagrations of Ætna. The verses of both poets on the same subject weighed and examined'.

I Remember when the philosopher Favorinus went in the hot weather to the villa of a friend near Antium, and we visited him from Rome, he made

* It is not easy to commend the taste either of Gellius or Favorinus in these remarks upon Virgil. Heyne very properly defends his author, and says, that Favorinus censured the poet, ut philosophum magis quam criticum poeticâ elegantia imbutum agnoscas. Nam neque Pindarum exprimere, multo minus ad verbum transferre, voluit aut debuit Virgilius, neque lyrico et epico poetæ idem rerum verborumque dilectus esse potest. Excurs. xv. ad Æn. 3. Scaliger dedicates the chief part of the fourth chapter of his fifth

made these observations upon Pindar and Virgil: "The friends and intimates," says he, "of Virgil, in the records they have left us of his talents and his manners, relate, that he produced his verses as a bear produces her young; for as that beast puts forth her young half-formed and mishapen, and then by licking her offspring brings it into form, so the produce of his genius was at first rude and imperfect, but afterwards, by attention and polishing, he gave it correct and regular features.

fifth book of Poetics to the defence of Virgil against the objections of Favorinus, into which he enters distinctly and very much at large. Pontanus had undertaken the same task, but Pontanus is accused by Scaliger and others of having defended Virgil coldly and inefficiently. It is indeed hardly credible, that any person of even a common share of taste should read the animated and sublime description of Virgil, and consider it as an unfinished passage, which he had not yet formed into shape; nor is there certainly any appearance that he had intended to copy Pindar exactly. The extravagant terms of reproach with which the chapter of Gellius ends are as ill placed as they are coarse and vulgar.

With respect to the anecdote related here, that Virgil ordered his manuscript to be burned, consult Pliny, l. vii. c. 30.

Divus Augustus carmina Virgilii cremari, contra testamenti ejus verecundiam, vetuit.

Servius, in his introduction to the *Æneid*, relates the same fact, with this addition, that Augustus ordered Tucca and Varius to correct and examine the manuscript, but to make no additions.

It is necessary to say, that I have used West's translation of Pindar, and Dryden's of Virgil.

“ That this was the true remark of a man of excellent judgment, the thing itself plainly proves; for what he has left completed and polished, and what has received the last proof of his correct approbation, abounds in every poetical beauty; but those parts which he put by, for the purpose of future correction (which he could not give them, however, being prevented by death) are by no means worthy of the reputation and taste of so elegant a poet. On this account it was, that when, oppressed with disease, he found death approaching, he entreated most earnestly of his friends, that they would destroy the *Æneid*, because it was not in a sufficiently finished state: but in all his works, that passage appears most to want correction which describes mount *Ætna*; for as in the description of the nature and the flaming of that mountain he aims at rivalling the poetry of the old bard *Pindar*, he has used expressions like *Pindar*’s; and though the latter be deemed too bombastic and swelling in his style, *Virgil* is yet more so. In order, however, that I may make you judges in the matter, I will repeat *Pindar*’s description of mount *Ætna*, as far as my memory will allow me:

Now under sulph’r’ous *Cuma*’s sea-bound coast,
 And vast *Sicilia*, lies his shaggy breast,
 By snowy *Ætna*, nurse of endless frost,
 The pillar’d prop of heaven, for ever press’d;

Forth

Forth from whose nitrous caverns issuing rise
 Pure liquid fountains of tempestuous fire,
 And veil in ruddy mists the noon-day skies,
 While, rapt in smoke, the eddying flames
 expire,
 Or, gleaming thro' the night with hideous roar,
 Far o'er the red'ning main huge rocky frag-
 ments pour.

I now subjoin the lines of Virgil, which are
 better in the commencement than in the conclu-
 sion—

The port, capacious and secure from wind,
 Is to the foot of thund'ring *Ætna* join'd;
 By turns, a pitchy cloud she rolls on high;
 By turns, hot embers from her entrails fly,
 And flakes of mounting flames, that lick the }
 sky;
 Oft from her bowels massy rocks are thrown,
 And, shivered by the force, come piece-meal
 down;
 Oft liquid lakes of burning sulphur flow,
 Fed from the fiery springs that boil below.

Now (says he) in the first place, Pindar has been
 more attentive to truth. He described the thing
 as it was, and as it usually appeared, and as he
 saw it with his eyes: by day, *Ætna* vomited
 smoke, by night, fire. But Virgil, while he is
 labouring for grand and sonorous words, con-
 founds times and seasons without discretion.

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The Greek, imitating the pouring out of fountains of fire and streams of smoke, and the dark and spiral volumes of flame rushing into the sea, has beautifully represented them as fiery snakes; but Virgil, wishing to express the ῥοον καπνισθῶνα, has clumsily and extravagantly called it *atram nubem turbine piceo et favillâ fumantem*, and has harshly and *without skill* translated κρενυς, *globos flammæ*. When he says, *sidera lambit*, he makes an addition, without increasing the force; and this too is unintelligible, and altogether inexplicable, that he should say of a black cloud *fumare turbine picea et candente favillâ* (that it smokes with a pitchy whirlwind and shining ashes) for things white are not wont to smoke or to be shining, unless any one should use *candenti* vulgarly and improperly in the sense of boiling, instead of fiery and shining; for *candens* is derived from *candor*, not *calor*. But when he talks of *scopulos eructari*, of rocks belching and lifting themselves, then being melted, and groaning, and rolled in the air, this is what Pindar never wrote, and what no man ever thought of, and is of all absurdities the most monstrous."

CHAP. XI.

That Plutarch, in his Symposiasts, defended the opinion of Plato, relative to the structure and use of the œsophagus¹ or gullet, and of the canal which is called the trachœa arteria, or windpipe, against Erasistratus the physician, using the authority of the ancient physician Hippocrates.

PLUTARCH and other learned men have observed, that Plato was reproved by Erasistratus, a noble physician, for asserting that what we drink first went into the lungs, and having sufficiently moistened them, passed through *numerous channels*, and flowed to the bladder; and that Alcæus was the author of this error.

Erasistratus says there are two little canals or pipes going from the back part of the mouth downwards; that through one of them², what-
ever

¹ *Æsophagus.*]—The word *σφαγος*, whence the Latin stomachus, is used by the old Greek writers for any narrow passage or channel leading to a cavity. Hippocrates calls the neck of the bladder and of the uterus *stomachos*, but it is now confined to the œsophagus or gullet, which leads from the mouth to the ventriculus or stomach, properly so called.

² *Of them.*]—The upper part of the gullet, which expands into a wide pouch, is called the pharynx. The food and drink

ever we eat or drink is carried first into the gullet, whence it descends into the stomach, where it is altered and digested, and that the drier excrementitious portion passes from thence to the bowels, the moister by the kidneys to the bladder; and that through the other channel, which is called the *trachæa arteria*, the air passes into the lungs, and back again through the nostrils and mouth; through this pipe also there is a passage for the voice; and lest the meat and drink, which are intended to go into the stomach, should fall from the mouth, and slip into the channel through which we breathe, and by injuring it occasion the passage for the air to be stopped, nature has placed, at the orifice of the two passages, a moveable valve, called the *epiglottis*³, which opens and shuts alternately. This valve, while we are eating or drinking, covers and defends the windpipe, lest any part of our food should slip into it and suffocate us; no moisture therefore can pass into the lungs, the orifice of the windpipe being covered. And this is the opinion of Erasistratus the physician against Plato; but Plutarch, in his *Symposiacs*, says, that

first enter the pharynx, and thence descend through the *œsophagus* or gullet to the stomach.

³ *Epiglottis*.]—This is one of the five cartilages that compose the larynx or upper part of the *trachæa arteria*; it covers the glottis or chink through which the air passes in respiration, and, besides the uses here assigned it, assists in modulating the voice in singing, speaking, &c.

Hippocrates was the author of the opinion which is attributed to Plato. The same doctrine was also taught, he adds, by Philistion of Locris, and by Dioxippus the disciple of Hippocrates, two ancient and noble physicians; they taught that the epiglottis, which Erasistratus mentions, is not placed at the mouth of the windpipe, totally to exclude every part of what we drink from passing that way, for a certain portion of fluid seems necessary to moisten and nourish the lungs⁴, but to act as a barrier, prohibiting every thing from entering that way which might be necessary for the support of the body; thus all the solid part of our aliment is prevented from entering the windpipe, and compelled to descend by the gullet, but the fluid is divided, and part of it admitted into the lungs, and part into the stomach; and the portion that is permitted to pass through the

⁴ *The lungs.*]—This opinion, that part of what we drink descends into the lungs for the purpose of moistening and supporting them, which was held by Hippocrates and other ancient physicians, is known to be erroneous, as the membrane that lines the trachea arteria is so delicate, that wine or any irritating liquor falling upon it occasions the most violent coughing, and even endangers suffocation; it is also unnecessary, nature having furnished the inner surface of the bronchia, or air-vessels of the lungs, in common with every other cavity or hollow part of the body, with innumerable pores or orifices, which are constantly breathing out a moisture to prevent the cavities becoming dry and coalescing, or their being injured by friction, or rubbing upon one another.

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windpipe into the lungs is not allowed to descend rapidly and at once, but slowly and gradually, and the remainder is turned into the passage leading to the stomach.

CHAP. XII.

Of those subjects called by the Greeks αδοξας, disputed by Favorinus for the sake of exercise.

NOT only the sophists of antiquity but even philosophers aimed at paradoxical sayings, which the Greeks call ατοπας και αδοξας υποθεσεις¹, and

¹ Αδοξας υποθεσεις.]—Certain modern writers of Latin have been much addicted to this species of exercise for their ingenuity. There is a volume printed in Holland, which contains the praise of a flea, by Cælius Calcagninus; of a louse, by Daniel Heinfius; of the gout, by Cardan and Birckheimer; of the quartan fever, the very subject of Favorinus, by Menapius; also of *blindness, mud, smoke, an ass, an owl, deafness, and darkness*, by various other learned men. The author who wrote on the quartan fever copies the passage of Gellius at the end of this chapter, but without acknowledgment; he quotes the same Greek verse, adding, quod sic à quibusdam vertitur:

Ipse dies quandoque parens quandoque noverca est.
Quid est ergo, quod miserè afficemur, aut quod impotentes
feramus

and even Favorinus himself often spoke in these paradoxes, either thinking them fit subjects for the exercise of his genius, or because he chose to practise subtleties and subdue difficulties by use. When he laboured to find some praise for Ther-sites, and pronounced a panegyric upon a fourth-day fever, he certainly displayed wit, and no common ingenuity, upon each of these occasions, and has recorded what he said in his books; but he produces Plato as a voucher for his praises of fever, who advances, as Favorinus reports, "that he who after a fourth-day fever has recovered his strength will thenceforward enjoy stronger and more constant health." On this subject the following sentiment contains a witty and not inelegant turn; this line, says he, is established by the approbation of ages:—

"ΑΛΛΟΤΕ ΜΗΤΡΥΙΗ² ΠΕΛΕΙ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΑΛΛΟΤΕ ΜΗΤΗΡ."

One day is like a mother bland and kind,
The next a surly stepmother you'll find.

feramus casum febris quartanæ? quum numerus dierum infelicitium et malorum superetur à felicium et bonorum, et inter quosque paroxysmos intervallum quietis toto biduo continuatæ interveniat." This is said with much less ingenuity and point than it stands in Gellius.

² ΑΛΛΟΤΕ ΜΗΤΡΥΙΗ.]—This verse is in Hesiod. *Εργ. κ' Ημ.* v. 825. Apostolius has it as a proverb, *Cent. ii. § 56.* who only says upon it, *ἐπὶ τῶν ποτὲ εὐημερῶντων ἀλλοτὲ δὲ δυσημερῶντων*, "on those who sometimes have good and sometimes bad days." Erasmus also has it, but does not particularly illustrate it.

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The meaning of this is, that every day cannot be fair, but that one is fair and another otherwise; and as it happens in human affairs, that things are alternately good and bad, how much more fortunate is that fever in which two good days intervene, and there is but one stepmother to two mothers.

CHAP. XIII.

The particle quin, how many and what are its significations. Often used with obscurity by the ancients.

THE particle *quin*, which grammarians call a conjunction, seems to connect a sentence by various means: one while it is used when we speak, as it were, chiding, or asking a question, or exhorting, as *quin venis?* (but do you come?) *quin legis?* (but do you read?) *quin fugis?* (but do you fly?) it has another meaning when we affirm a thing, as, there is no doubt (*quin*) but Marcus Tullius is the most eloquent of all men; and it has yet another meaning, when we so compound it, as that it appears contrary

trary to what was before said, as, "Isocrates did not therefore refuse to plead, because he did not think it useful and honourable (*quin id utile & honestum existimarit.*)" A similar instance of this occurs in the third origin of Marcus Cato: "haud eos eo postremum scribo, *quin* populi & boni & strenui sient; I do not mention them last, because they are not a respectable and a strong people." Marcus Cato too, in his second Origin, has used this particle in a similar manner: "Neque satis habuit, quod eum in occulto vitiaverit, *quin* ejus famam prostitueret; nor was he content with privately calumniating him, so as not to defame his reputation openly." Moreover, I observe that Quadrigarius, in the eighth book of his Annals, has used this particle with great obscurity; I quote his words: "He came to Rome, vix superat, *quin* triumphus decernatur; he scarce prevails that a triumph should not be decreed." In the sixth of the Annals too is this passage: "pene factum esse *quin* castra relinquerent, atque cederent hosti; it was within a little that they did not leave their camp and yield to the enemy." I am aware that any one may say, and say truly, that there is no difficulty in the application of this word, for *quin* is every where put for *ut*, and this is plain, if you only say, "*Romam venit, vix superat, ut* triumphus decernatur:" so in the other passage, pene factum esse *ut* castra, &c. They indeed who are so

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quick and ready, may adopt this commutation of words which they do not understand, yet let them do it, when the occasion permits, with modesty. No man, however, will understand the significations and different powers of this particle, unless he know that it is a compound and copulative one¹, and that it not only has the power of uniting, but of adding a certain signification. All this, which would be the subject of too long a dissertation, he who has leisure may find in the grammatical commentaries of Publius Nigidius.

¹ *Copulative one.*]—Gellius does not explain himself, but there can be no doubt but that he must mean that *quin* is a word compounded of *qui* and *ne*, as other grammarians explain it. Thus Vossius in his Etymology says, *quin, κατ' ἀποκοπήν, ex quine, ut seu ex frve. Quine autem ex qui et ne pro non. Sane qui aut quin taces, quin domum is, quid aliud dicit quam qui non taces, vel qui non domum abis? atque hic quidem est adverbium jubentis vel hortantis; ac par ratio cum est conjunctio, nam cum dico non dubito quin sit venturus, idem est ac qui five quomodo non sit venturus, i. e. "quin is made by apocope from quine, as seu from frve: but quine is composed of qui and ne, for not. Thus, whoever says, quin taces? quin domum is? what does he say, but why are you not silent? why do you not go home? In this sense quin is an adverb of command or exhortation. The interpretation is the same when it is a conjunction: for when I say, I do not doubt, quin sit venturus, it is the same as if I were to say, I do not suspect that or how he should not come." Gellius therefore is justified in wondering how *quin* could be substituted for *ut*.*

CHAP. XIV.

Select and elegant sentences from the Mimes of Publius¹.

PUBLIUS was an author of Mimes, and was esteemed superior to Laberius. The severity and arrogance of Laberius so disgusted Caius Cæsar, that he professed to approve of the Mimes of Publius, in preference to those of Laberius. The sentiments of this Publius are for

¹ *Publius.*]—This was Publius Syrus, from whose Mimes more good and useful sentences are still preserved than can be found in all the dramatic poets extant. He has had the honour of being strongly praised by Seneca, in whose works very many of his sentences are preserved. He says, “How many of the most eloquent verses are hidden in the Mimes? How many of those of Publius are fitter for the buskin than the slipper?” Epist. 8. In another passage he says, “Publius, superior in genius both to tragic and comic writers, whenever he gives up the follies of the Mimes, and that language which is directed to the upper gallery, writes many things not only above that species of writing, but worthy of the tragic buskin.” The sentences of this author have been collected alphabetically into a most valuable volume, and illustrated by excellent notes, full of parallel passages from ancient writers, by Janus Gruter. The collection consists of 852 sentences, all iambics, and all of this proverbial kind. Some among them are however attributed to Seneca himself, and some to other writers.

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the most part elegantly expressed, and well adapted to common discourse. Some of these are comprized in single lines, which I have thought proper to subjoin :

Tis a bad scheme, which cannot bear a change.
 Who gives to worth, receives a benefit.
 Bear without murmurs what you cannot shun.
 He who hath too much power will use it ill.
 A gay companion is a vehicle.
 Of all good names, frugality's the worst.
 Heirs have a weeping eye and merry heart.
 Patience too oft provoked becomes dire rage.
 The fool blames Neptune and yet goes to sea.
 So deal with friends as tho' they might be foes.
 Who bears one insult but invites another.
 By too much logic truth is often lost.
 Who handsomely denies half grants your suit.

CHAP. XV.

Carneades the academic purified himself by hellebore, when about to write against the dogmas of Zeno. Of the nature and healing powers of white and black hellebore.

CARNEADES the academic being about to write against Zeno the stoic, cleansed his body with white hellebore, lest any of the corrupt humours of the stomach should fly up into the head, and weaken the powers of the mind; with such care and preparation did this man of the most shining talents proceed to refute the opinions of Zeno. When I read this circumstance in Greek, about the white hellebore, I enquired what it was: I then found that there were two sorts of hellebore¹, very different in their colours,

¹ *Two sorts of hellebore.*]—There are still two plants known to the modern botanists by the names of white and black hellebore; but so imperfect are the descriptions left by the ancients, even of the plants most highly esteemed by their physicians, that it is not possible to determine whether either of those which now bear the name corresponds with those to which they gave it. Of the black hellebore, an eminent botanist says, “whether our hellebore be the same species as that said to grow in the island of Anticyra, and about

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lours, white and black; but this distinction of colours is not perceptible in the seed, nor in the plants, but in the root. The stomach and upper belly is purged by the white, in the

about mount Olympus, so frequently alluded to by the Latin poets, is no easy matter to determine. From the accounts of Tournefort and Bellonius, who botanized these places, a species of this plant was found in great plenty, which the former supposes to be the hellebore of Hippocrates. It differs from the species known to us by having a large branched stem, and also by its effects, for he found that a scruple of the extract brought on violent spasms and convulsions." *Woodville's Medical Botany*.—We are told also by the same author: "It seems to have been principally from its purgative quality that the ancients esteemed this root such a powerful remedy in maniacal disorders, with a view to evacuate the *atra bilis*, from which these mental diseases were supposed to be produced; but though evacuations be often found necessary in various cases of alienations of mind, yet, as they can be procured with more certainty and safety by other medicines, this catholicon of the ancients is now almost entirely abandoned." The white hellebore belongs to quite a distinct genus of plants from the black, according to the Linnæan system, and is also called *veratrum*. The identity of this plant with the ancient is no less doubtful than that of the former, or perhaps even more so. The application, therefore, of what was said of the hellebores of the Greeks, to those known to us, can only be admitted as a matter of probability. The effects of the white hellebore also are so violent and deleterious, that few modern physicians venture upon the use of it. Both kinds were said to grow at Anticyra; but the black was more commonly employed, as accounted safer; but when Hippocrates mentions hellebore simply, without an epithet, he means the white.

form

form of emetics; by the black, the intestines or lower venter is purged; but both have the power of expelling those noxious humours which are causes of disease: there is however some danger, lest in destroying these causes of disease, the principle of life too should be destroyed, and lest by opening every passage through the body, the man, exhausted from the want of support from nourishment, should perish. But Pliny the elder relates, in his Natural History, that hellebore may be taken with great safety in the island of Anticyra²; for when Livius Drusus, tribune of the people, laboured under that disorder which is called the falling-sickness, Pliny says that he sailed to Anticyra, and there drank hellebore, and was cured. Besides, we read that the Gauls, in hunting, dipped their arrows in hellebore, because animals so killed are more tender food; but from the contagion of the hellebore, the wounds made by their arrows are said to spread farther than usual.

² *Anticyra*.]—The passages of Horace, in which Anticyra is mentioned, are universally known: they all imply that the person concerning whom it is mentioned requires some process to cure him of insanity.

Pausanias, Strabo, and Pliny, differ about the geographical position of Anticyra. See Pausanias, Phoc. c. 36.—Strabo, l. 9.—Pliny, l. 25. c. 5.

CHAP. XVI.

The ducks of Pontus had the power of expelling poison. King Mithridates's knowledge in antidotes of this kind.

IT is said of the ducks bred in Pontus, that they live generally upon poison. Lenæus, a freedman of Cnæus Pompey, records, that Mithridates king of Pontus, who was very experienced in physic and in medicines of this sort, was accustomed to mix ¹ the blood of these ducks with

¹ *To mix.*]—This quality of the blood of Pontic ducks is mentioned also by Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxix. 5. by Dioscorides, and Scribonius Largus, and the application of it by Pliny, xxv. 2. Many receipts have been left by the ancients as the famous antidote of Mithridates, but from their entire disagreement concerning the materials, and the total inefficacy of most of the compositions with respect to the consequences ascribed to them, we may naturally suppose, either that the whole story is fabulous, which it seems to be, or that his receipt remained a secret with himself. Serenus Sammonius says it was found when his papers were seized by Pompey, and was so simple that the conqueror laughed at it.

Bis denas rutæ frondes, salis et breve granum,
Juglandesque duas totidem cum corpore ficus.

Twenty leaves of rue, a little salt, two walnuts, and two figs.
This

with drugs, which operate as an antidote to poison; and their blood, he adds, is extremely powerful in effecting this. "The king himself," he says, "by the perpetual application of such medicines, was guarded against the snares laid for him at entertainments; nay, he even knowingly, and to make experiment of some violent and rapid poison, often drank it off, and without injury; wherefore, when he was conquered by the Roman people in battle, and fled to the farthest part of his kingdom, having determined to die, and tried to destroy himself, but in vain, by means of the strongest poisons, he fell upon his sword. The celebrated antidote, mithridatics, is named after this king."

This mixture he took every morning with a little wine. Pompey might well laugh were this true, and his physician would have laughed still more. Much about Lenæus and Mithridates may be found in Pliny's Nat. Hist. xxv. 2. He calls him Pompeius Lenæus.

CHAP. XVII.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, spoke the language of twenty-two nations. Quintus Ennius said of himself, that he had three hearts, because he understood Greek, Oscan, and Latin.

QUINTUS ENNIUS said he had three hearts¹, because he understood the Greek, the Oscan, and the Latin languages; but Mithridates, the famous king of Pontus and Bithynia, who was overcome by Cnæus Pompey, understood the languages of twenty-two nations that were under his government, and conversed with persons of all these nations without an interpreter; and when he spoke to any of them, he used their language with as much propriety as if it had been his own.

¹ *Tria corda.*]—Hieronymus Columna, the author of the Life of Ennius, prefixed to the edition of his fragments, repeating this account, adds, “respiciens fortasse ad tri-corporis Geryonis figmentum, qui à plerisque sophista trium linguarum peritiâ insignis fuisse perhibetur,” “alluding perhaps to the fable of the threefold Geryon, who is by many related to have been a sophist skilled in three languages.” The conjecture is foolish enough, and the interpretation of the fable not very probable.

CHAP. XVIII.

Marcus Varro relates that Sallust the historian was taken in adultery by Annaeus Milo, beaten with rods, and dismissed on paying a fine¹.

MARCUS VARRO, a man of great authority and weight in his writings and life, in his publication, intituled, "Pius," or "de Pace," records that Caius Sallust, the author of that grave and serious composition, in which he

¹ There is very strong evidence that Sallust, notwithstanding the affectation of severity in his writings, was a man of a very dissolute life. For this adultery, which was with the daughter of Sylla, and various other exploits of a similar kind, he was expelled from the senate, in the year of Rome 703 or 4, by the censors Appius Claudius Pulcher and Lucius Calpurnius Piso; but Julius Cæsar was his friend, and probably associate in his debaucheries; by him he was made quæstor the year following, and restored to senatorial dignity. One of the evidences against him is the ancient Scholiast on Horace, 1 sat. ii. 41. Lenæus, mentioned in chap. 16. attacked him violently, for having in his writings given a bad character of Pompey, the patron of that author; he called him lastaurum, et lurconem, et nebulonem, popinonemque—a debauchee, a glutton, a knave, and a sot. See Suetonius de Illust. Gram. c. 15, where he gives an account of Lenæus.

Lactantius has this expression concerning Sallust:

Quod quidem non fugit hominem nequam Sallustium, qui ait, &c. "Sed omnis nostra vis in animo et corpore sita est, animi imperio corporis servitio magis utemur." Recte si ita vixisset ut locutus est; servivit enim scdissimis voluptatibus.

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has exercised the severity of the censorial office*, in taking cognizance of crimes, being taken by Annæus Milo in adultery, was well scourged, and, after paying a sum of money, dismissed.

* *Censorial office.*]—Notiones censorias exerceri. — The word notio is formally applied to the cognizance taken by censors, and exerceri also is a term of authority.

CHAP. XIX.

What Epictetus was accustomed to say to those who with debauched and vicious habits attached themselves to philosophy. Two salutary words, the use of which he recommended.

I Heard Favorinus say, that Epictetus the philosopher remarked, that most of those who profess to be philosophers were of this cast, *αὐτῶν τὰ πράττειν μέχρι τὰ λέγειν*, philosophers as to precept, but without practice; but that is a more severe remark which Arrian, in his books upon the Dissertations of Epictetus, says he used to make, and which he has left us there in writing. When he saw a man without shame, persevering in wickedness, impudent in his vices, and haughty in his language, and at the same time attending to the study and pursuit of philosophy, an observer of nature, a logician, one who balanced theorems and solved problems, he would
not

not only exclaim aloud, but to his exclamations would often add these reproofs: "Oh man! whither are you casting these things; consider whether the vessel be clean¹; for if you throw them where there is nothing to receive them, they are lost; if they are suffered to putrify they become urine, or vinegar, or something worse." Certainly nothing can be more severe or more true than the words in which this greatest of all philosophers described learning and philosophy falling upon a base and degenerate man, as into a dirty and polluted vessel, and becoming changed and corrupted, and as he more forcibly expresses it, being turned into urine, or any thing more filthy. The same Epictetus, as I have heard from Favorinus, used to say there were two vices grievous and shocking above all the rest, namely, want of patience and want of continence; when we cannot endure evils which ought to be borne, nor refrain from pleasures which we ought to resist: "therefore," says he, "whoever remembers these two words, and takes care to regulate himself by them, will be for the most part irreproachable, and will lead a very quiet life. The two words are, 'bear, and forbear'."

¹ *Vessel be clean.*]—There is a striking resemblance between this passage and our Saviour's reproach to the Pharisees, of making clean the outside of the cup, while the inside of the man's heart was neglected.

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CHAP. XX.

Words taken from the Symposium of Plato, which in their numbers and connections are skilfully, harmoniously, and fitly composed, for the sake of exercise imitated in Latin¹.

THE Symposium of Plato was read before the philosopher Taurus. In it are the words of Pausanias, pronouncing, among the other guests, in his turn, the praise of love I admired the lines so much that I resolved to

¹ There is something in the title of this chapter, as it stands in the best editions, certainly quite inconsistent with the extreme modesty of the author, expressed at the latter end of the chapter. This is very justly observed by Oiselius, though Gronovius, who seems to seize every possible opportunity of censuring that commentator, pretends to deny it. Oiselius would omit the whole title as spurious; but there is a much easier remedy, that of inserting a single word. This not only removes the objection, but renders the construction more natural and perfect. This word is *composita*, or something equivalent, to be inserted after *apteque*; it will then run thus: *verba sumpta ex Symposio Platonis, numeris coagmentisque verborum scite modulateque apteque composita, exercendi gratia in Latinam orationem versa.* *Scite modulateque et apte* is the reading of the early editions. The common reading makes Gellius say, that they are here skilfully, harmoniously, and fitly translated by himself. I have given the title according to the conjectural reading.

remember them, and they are, if I mistake not, as follows: "Every action is of such a nature that in itself it is neither good nor bad; such as for instance to drink, or to speak, or to argue, as we are now doing; not one of these things is in itself honourable, but becomes so by the manner in which it is done; a thing well done becomes a good and honourable action, one not well done a base action. So it is of love; for every kind of love is not honourable, or worthy of commendation; but he is so who directs his attachment properly." When these words were read, Taurus said to me, "Here, you rhetorician (for so he called me when I was first received into the class, thinking that I came to Athens only to puzzle myself about rhetoric) do you observe this sentence, how full of meaning, how luminous, and connected it is, and comprised in certain short yet complete terms, coming round to the point whence they started? Can you produce from any of your orators a speech so happily, so harmoniously put together? But the elegance of the style I suppose you consider but as a secondary object; for we are to make our way into the very depths of Plato's mind, progressively to advance to the height of the grandeur of his sentiments; we are not to turn ourselves out of the way, to enjoy the pleasant flow of his style, and the choice elegance of his expressions." This admonition of Taurus, upon the harmonious periods of Plato

not only did not check, but encouraged us in aiming to transfer the elegance of the Greek into Latin terms; and as some little vile animals are prone through petulance to imitate what they hear and see, so did we express our admiration of Plato's writings, which we attempted not to rival, but as it were to make draughts and copies of it, such as this, which we formed from those very words. "Every act," says he, "is of such a nature, that in itself it is neither good nor bad; as what we are now doing, viz. drinking, singing, disputing; for as no one of these actions is in itself honourable, but becomes so by the manner in which it is done, an action rightly and honourably done becomes a good action, if ill done, an evil one. Thus it is with love; for not every kind of love is honourable or worthy of commendation, but that which disposes us to love honourably."

CHAP. XXI.

At what times, between the building of Rome and the second Punic war, the celebrated Greeks and Romans flourished.*

IN order that I might have some knowledge of ancient times, and illustrious characters in those ages, lest perchance I should in discourse make some observation upon the age and life of some of these great men, like that ignorant sophist who lately proclaimed aloud, that the philosopher Carneades was presented with a sum of money by Alexander the son of Philip, and that Panætius the stoic lived with the elder Scipio; to guard

* This chapter, containing so many synchronisms of Greek and Roman history, is of very great importance, but like other chronological matters is attended with difficulties in particular parts. In several instances, Gellius will be found to be mistaken in several years of calculation; in others, his positions are at least disputable. We may always in such subjects suspect the errors of transcribers in writing figures as among the causes of disagreement. It would be difficult, and a subject for a very long work, to discuss the particulars of all these points, but by comparing the coincidences with the tables of the best chronologers, it will easily be seen that Gellius does not always agree with those who are considered as the best authorities.

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myself therefore from thus confounding ages and times, I made some extracts from the books called Chronicles, treating of those times, in which Grecian and Roman characters, distinguished by their talents or their power, flourished, from the building of Rome to the second Punic war. These extracts, which were made upon different occasions, I have reduced to some sort of order: nor was it my object, with accurate care and attention to compose a catalogue of illustrious contemporaries in the two nations, but that these Attic Nights might be sprinkled here and there agreeably with these flowers of history. In this account I have thought it sufficient to speak of the times in which a few of these characters existed, from whose dates it will not be difficult to guess at the periods of those who are not here mentioned. I shall begin with the famous Solon, since, with regard to Homer and Hesiod, it is plainly the opinion of all writers that they lived either at the same time, or that Homer was rather the more ancient, but that both lived before Rome was built, while the Silvii were masters of Alba, about 160 years after the Trojan war, according to Cassius's Annals, in the first of which he speaks of Homer and Hesiod, and about 160 years before the building of Rome, as Cornelius Nepos says, in his first Chronicle, of Homer. We learn that Solon, one of the celebrated wise men, wrote the
Athenian

Athenian laws in the thirty-third year of the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, king of Rome; but Pisistratus was the tyrant of Athens when Servius Tullius reigned, before which time Solon went into voluntary banishment, because no credit was given to him when he foretold the tyranny of Pisistratus. After this, Pythagoras the Samian came into Italy, in the reign of Tarquin's son, surnamed Superbus; and at the same time Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, the brother of Hippias the tyrant, was slain at Athens by Harmodius and Aristogiton. Cornelius Nepos says, that Archilochus began just then to be celebrated for his poetry, when Tullus Hostilius was upon the throne. It is recorded, that in the 260th year after that, or not much more, the Persians were routed by the Athenians in the famous battle of Marathon, under Miltiades, who after that victory was condemned by the people of Athens, and died in prison. Then flourished at Athens Æschylus, the celebrated writer of tragedies. About this time, at Rome, the people created for themselves, by an insurrection, tribunes and ædiles; and not long after, Caius Martius Coriolanus, being thwarted and irritated by the tribunes of the people, went over from the republic to their enemies the Volscians, and made war upon the Romans. A few years after this, Xerxes was routed by the Athenians and the greater part of Greece, under the conduct of Themistocles,

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Themistocles, in a naval engagement, and put to flight, near Salamis; and four years after this, in the consulship of Menenius Agrippa and Marcus Horatius Pulvillus, in the war against the Veientes, 360 Romans of rank, with their families, were surrounded by the enemy near the river Cremera, and were cut off. Near this time, Empedocles, of Agrigentum, became celebrated as a natural philosopher; at the same time it appears, the decemviri were appointed to draw up a code of laws, by whom ten tablets were first completed, and afterwards two more added. Then began the Peloponnesian war in Greece, of which Thucydides has written the history; it began about 323 years after the building of Rome, at which time Aulus Posthumius Torquatus was dictator, who beheaded his son for engaging the enemy contrary to his orders. The Fidenates were then at war with the Romans. The characters distinguished in those times were, Sophocles and Euripides as tragic poets, Hippocrates as a physician, and Democritus a philosopher; to these, Socrates the Athenian succeeded, somewhat younger, but who lived in part of their time. From this period, when the military tribunes governed the Roman republic, to the year of the building of the city 347, the thirty tyrants were placed by the Spartans over the Athenians; and a few years after, Socrates was condemned to death at Athens, and killed by

by poison in prison. Near that time Marcus Furius Camillus was dictator at Rome, and overcame the Veii. Not long after happened the war of the Senones, in which the Gauls took the whole of Rome, except the capitol; and soon after that, Eudoxus the astrologer was celebrated in Greece, and the Lacedæmonians were conquered by the Athenians, under Phormio, at Corinth. At this time, Marcus Manlius, who had prevented the Gauls in their attack from scaling the capitol, was convicted of an intention to seize upon the government, and being condemned, was, as Varro relates, thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, or, as Cornelius Nepos affirms, scourged to death. In the seventh year after the recovery of the city, it is recorded, that Aristotle the philosopher was born. A few years after the war with the Senones, the Thebans, commanded by Epaminondas, overcame the Lacedæmonians at Leuctria; and a short time after that, by the law of Licinius Stolo, consuls were chosen at Rome from the people, whereas before it had not been legal for any person, unless of patrician rank, to be consul. In about the 400th year from the building of the city, Philip, the son of Amyntas, and father of Alexander, rose to the throne of Macedon, at which time Alexander was born. A few years after this, the philosopher Plato visited Dionysius, the last tyrant of Sicily; and a little time after, Philip defeated the Athenians

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nians in a great battle at Chéronea, from which battle Demosthenes fought safety by flight, and when he was reproached for this disgraceful flight, he replied in the following well-known verse :

He who fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day.

Philip after this is slain by a conspiracy, and Alexander, succeeding to the government, passed over into Asia and the East to subdue the Persians. Another Alexander, whose surname was Molossus, came into Italy to make war upon the Romans ; for now the reputation and the valour of the Roman nation began to grow illustrious among foreign people ; but he died before the war began. We are told that this Molossus, when he came into Italy, said he invaded the Romans as a nation of men, while the Macedonian Alexander went to the Persians as to a nation of women. Soon after, Alexander of Macedon, having subdued great part of the East, and reigned eleven years, died ; and not long subsequent to that, died the philosopher Aristotle, and then Demosthenes. About this time the Romans were engaged in a disastrous and protracted war with the Samnites, and the consuls Titus Veturius and Spurius Posthumius, in an unlucky situation at Caudium, were surrounded by the Samnites, and being compelled to pass under the yoke, departed under the stigma of a disgraceful treaty.

After

After nearly the 470th year from the foundation of the city, war was begun with king Pyrrhus; at that time Epicurus the Athenian, and Zeno the Citian, philosophers, were in repute; then Caius Fabricius Luscinus and Quintus Æmilius Papus were censors at Rome, and removed Publius Cornelius Rufinus from the senatorial order, and they assigned as a cause for thus disgracing him, that they had found him using ten pounds of plate at an entertainment. In the 490th year from the building of Rome, Appius, surnamed Caudex, the brother of Appius Cæcus, and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, being consuls, the first Punic war was begun; and not long after, Callimachus, the poet of Cyrene, in Alexandria, was in reputation in the court of king Ptolemy. Rather more than twenty years after this, peace being made with the Carthaginians, in the consulship of Claudius Cento, the son of Appius Cæcus, and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, Lucius Livius, first began to exhibit plays at Rome, 160 years after the death of Sophocles and Euripides, and about 52 years after the death of Menander. Quintus Valerius and Caius Manilius succeeded Claudius and Tuditanus, and in their consulship, Varro relates, in his first Treatise on the Poets, that Quintus Ennius the poet was born, who in his 60th year wrote his twelfth book of Annals, which Ennius himself speaks of in that book. Five hundred and nineteen years

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after the building of the city, Spurius Cervilius Ruga, by the advice of his friends, was the first person who divorced his wife because she was barren, swearing before the censors, that he married for the purpose of having children. In the same year, the poet Nævius exhibited plays, whom Marcus Varro, in his first Treatise on the Poets, says, served in the first Punic war, which Nævius himself says in the poem he wrote on that war; but Servius affirms that Portius Licinius was the first poet at Rome; he speaks of him in these lines—

When Rome with Carthage waged her second
fight,

The Roman Muse first ventur'd on her flight.

About fifteen years after, war was commenced against the Carthaginians, and not very long after, Marcus Cato flourished as an orator, and Plautus as a dramatic poet. At this time Diogenes the Stoic, and Carneades the academic, and Critolaus the peripatetic, were sent to Rome by the Athenians to transact public business with the senate. A little time after, Quintus Ennius flourished, and then Cæcilius Terence, after that Pacuvius, in whose old age, Accius, and then Lucilius, yet more famous for his satires on the works of others: but we are proceeding too far, having fixed as the boundary to our observations the second Punic war.

BOOK

B O O K XVIII.

C H A P. I.

Disputations between a stoic and a peripatetic philosopher, Favorinus being arbiter, in which they enquire how far virtue avails to make life happy, and how far happiness consists in those objects which are called extraneous.

THERE were at Rome two friends of Favorinus, philosophers of some note, one a follower of the peripatetic doctrine, the other a stoic. I was once present at a dispute between these men, carried on with much pertinacity, when we were guests of Favorinus, at Ostia. We were walking on the shore, towards evening, in the spring: here the stoic affirmed that the life of man could be rendered happy by virtue alone, and perfectly miserable only by wickedness, although every corporal, or, as it is called, external good, should be wanting to the virtuous man, and possessed by the wicked. The peripatetic on the other hand allowed that life could only

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be made miserable by vice and wickedness, but he by no means thought that virtue alone was sufficient to render life completely happy, since the possession of our proper limbs, health, a good person, an estate, a good character, and other things relating to the body, as well as the goods of fortune, appeared necessary to the perfection of happiness¹. Here the stoic loudly replied, expressing

¹ *Necessary to the perfection of happiness.*]—Martial's description of a happy life, in his celebrated epigram, "*Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem*," l. x. ep. 47. enumerates nearly the same particulars as are here said to be required by the Peripatetics. This epigram has frequently been imitated in English. By Cowley, very coarsely and carelessly, near the end of his *Discourses, by way of Essays, in verse and prose*: and no better by Fenton, in *Nicholl's Collection of Poems*, vol. iv. p. 58.—The following much neater version is by an anonymous writer in the same volume, p. 115.

To enjoy your life in happiness,
My friend, the ways and means are these:
Descended wealth, a fruitful farm,
An house by site and structure warm,
Still void of strife; your dress still plain,
But unaffected, neat, and clean;
Alike at peace in head and heart,
And vigorous health in every part;
Truth without craft; a friend or two,
Just such, and only such as you;
A table with cheap plenty spread,
Where health, and no disease, is fed;
Still sober nights, yet free from cares;
A bed that lust nor sorrow shares,
Where pleasing daily labours give
Unbroken sleeps from ten to five;

From

pressing his surprize that he should advance two opposite positions ; “ For as wickedness and virtue were opposed to each other, and a miserable and an happy life, he did not preserve the power and nature of an opposite in each, who supposed that vice alone had power to render life miserable, and yet contended that virtue was not sufficient to make it happy. And herein (said he) lies the inconsistency and contradiction, that the man who professes that life can by no means be made happy if virtue be wanting, should at the same time deny that virtue is sufficient for happiness, if that alone be possessed, and should thus take from virtue when present, that credit which he acknowledges to be her due when absent.” “ Then (says the peripatetic, with much pleasantry) give me leave to ask you, do you call that an amphora of wine which wants a congius of the measure ?” “ By no means (replied the stoic) can that be called an amphora which wants a congius.” Upon this the peripatetic retorted, “ then the congius ought to be called the amphora, since when that is wanting it is no amphora, when that is added it is complete. Now if it be absurd to advance that a congius makes an

From further views entirely free,
But, as you are, content to be ;
And thus, while all your hours are past,
Nor fears, nor wishes for your last,

amphora, it is equally absurd to say, that life is made happy by virtue only, because if virtue be wanting, life never can be happy." Then Favorinus, turning to the Peripatetic, "your argument (says he) about the cask of wine, is a sophistry discussed in books; but (as you know) it is rather a witticism than a proof or an argument, for if a congius be wanting, it happens that the amphora has not its just measure; but when it is added, that measure does not make the cask, but supplies its deficiency; but virtue (as the Stoics say) is not merely an addition or a supplement, it is itself equivalent to an happy life, and therefore makes life happy, because life is only happy when that is present." These and other arguments yet more minute and intricate they discussed, according to their different notions, making Favorinus the arbiter. But as night approached, and darkness began to thicken, we departed, attending Favorinus into his house.

CHAP. II.

What sort of questions we used to discuss in the Saturnalia at Athens, with some intricate sophistries, and amusing enigmas.

WE celebrated the Saturnalia at Athens with mirth and moderation, not, as they say, relaxing our minds; for Musonius affirms, that to give a loose to the mind is as it were to lose the mind; but we indulged ourselves a little in the ingenuous pleasantries of lively conversation. A large party of us from Rome, on a visit to Greece, and who attended the same lectures and the same masters, met at the same supper; then he, who in his turn gave the entertainment, proposed, as a reward for the solution of a question, some old Greek or Latin book, and a crown of laurel, and introduced as many questions as there were persons present. When he had proposed them all, the turn of each to speak was decided by lot. The question being solved, the crown and reward was presented; if not solved, it was carried on, to be obtained by the next, according to lot, and if no one could solve it, the reward and crown was dedicated to the deity in whose honour the festival was celebrated. The questions debated

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were of this sort: some difficult sentence from an old poet of agreeable rather than of serious perplexity; some fact of ancient history; the elucidation of some axiom derived from philosophy, improperly become common; the investigation of some word of unusual occurrence, or some obscurity in the tense of a verb, the meaning of which is obvious. Of these questions, I remember seven, of which the first was the repetition of some verses in Ennius's Satires, in which one word is elegantly used in many different ways, as for example:—

Nam qui lepidé¹ postulat, alterum frustrari,
Quem frustratur, frustra eum dicit, frustra esse,
Nam qui sese frustrari, quem frustra sentit,
Qui frustratur, is frustra est, si non ille est frustra.

The

¹ *Nam qui lepide, &c.*]—The ancients sometimes indulged themselves in this false taste of running the changes on words of one origin. Thus Plautus in his Captives has—

Qui cavet ne decipiatur, vix cavet, cum etiam cavet,
Etiam cùm cavisse ratus, sæpe is cautor captus est.

Of modern jingles of this kind, none is more celebrated than the following, which Wallis gives in his English Grammar, both in French and English, and afterwards in a Latin translation, with an ample comment:

Quand un cordier cordant, veut corder une corde,
Pour sa corde corder, trois cordons il accorde:
Mais, si un des cordons de la corde descorde,
Le cordon discordant fait descorder la corde.

In

The second question was, how we should interpret what Plato, in the republic which he planned in his books, says, that wives should be in common, and that the rewards of great captains and warriors should be the kisses of boys and virgins. The third question was, the fallacy of the following sophistry, and how it is to be explained. "That which you have not lost², you have; horns you have not lost, therefore you have

In English thus:

When a twister a twisting will twist him a twist,
For the twisting his twist, he three twines doth intwist,
But if one of the twines of the twist do untwist,
The twine that untwisteth, untwisteth the twist.

To which that author adds eight more of his own original construction.

² *Quod non perdidisti, &c.*]—Most of these logical quibbles had more credit given to them by the ancients than they deserved; the authors of many of them are recorded; they were distinguished by appropriate names, and were often the subject of private discussion. This of the *horns* is by Diogenes Laertius attributed to Eubulides, a disciple of the Socratic Euclid. It was commonly called *ceratine*, from *κερας*, a horn. His name is mentioned with it by an old comic poet:—

Ὁ ὑπεριστικὸς δ' Εὐβουλίδης κερατίνας ἐρωτῶν.

The fallacy of the argument is perfectly evident; for it asserts universally what is only true of such things as we have once had. Diogenes attributes also to Eubulides the sophisms called *mentiens*, *fallens*, *Electra*, *occultata*, *sorites*, and *calva*; yet most of these are also attributed to Chrysippus. It seems little worth while to enquire the true authors of such idle subtilties.

horns."

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horns." Also another sophistry : " What I am, that you are not ; I am a man, therefore you are not a man." The next was the solution of this sophism : " When I tell a lie, and acknowledge it, do I tell a lie, or do I speak truth ?" We had afterwards the following question ; " For what reason are the patricians accustomed to entertain each other at the Megalensian festivals, the common people at those of Ceres."

In like manner it was debated, " What poet of the ancients had used the phrase *verant*, for *vera dicunt* (they say true)." The sixth question was, " What sort of herb is the asphodel which Hesiod speaks of thus :—

Νηπιοι εδ' ισασιν ὅσω πλεον ἡμισυ παντος
Οὐδ' ὅσον εν μαλαχῇ τε καὶ ασφοδελῷ μεγ' ονειαρ.

And what Hesiod meant when he said that half was more than the whole ?" The last ques-

³ Πλεον ἡμισυ παντος.]—These two lines convey a celebrated recommendation of moderation ; the former being pointed against avarice and rapacity, the latter recommending simple and frugal diet. Plato, in his third book of Laws, speaking of the kings of the Argives and Messenians, who by their rapacity ruined themselves and others, " Were they (says he) ignorant of what Hesiod says with the utmost justice, that half is often more than the whole, when to take the whole is dangerous, but the half is moderate ; for he thought moderation as much preferable to excess, as any good thing is to another that is inferior to it."

Erasmus treats at large on this passage as an established proverb.

tion was, "Of what tense are the verbs *scripserim*, *venerim*, *legerim*, of the præterperfect, or future, or both." These topics were then debated and explained in the order which I mentioned, each drawing a lot, and we were all presented with a book and a chaplet, except for one question which was upon the word *verant*; no one remembered that word to have been used by Quintus Ennius, in the 13th of his Annals, in the following verse:—

Satin vates *verant* ætate in agundâ.

The chaplet therefore for this question was dedicated to Saturn, the god of that festival.

CHAP. III.

What respect Æschines, in the oration in which he accused Timarchus of incontinency, said the Lacedæmonians judged to be due to the wise suggestion of a very profligate citizen¹.

ÆSCHINES, the most acute and sagacious of all the orators who flourished among the Athenians, in that severe and acrimonious speech, wherein he pointedly and violently ac-

¹ Taylor's Preface to this Oration of Æschines against Timarchus, may be consulted by the more curious reader, as from Hermogenes, Hesychius, Synesius, &c. he has collected every fact explanatory of the character of the person accused, and every circumstance which can illustrate this memorable oration. This is stated to have been the first occasion of the enmity betwixt Æschines and Demosthenes: certain it is, that the morals of Timarchus were in the highest degree vicious and depraved, yet he had all the qualities of a profound and accomplished politician, and was by no means without skill in military affairs. Notwithstanding his reputation for these and other talents, this accusation, ut in his rebus fieri solet, says Taylor, prevailed, and the name of Timarchus has become in succeeding ages proverbially ignominious. The term a Timarchus was applied by the Greeks, that is the more modern Greeks, to an individual totally corrupt. This oration is mentioned also in similar terms by Lucian and by Plutarch.

cused

cused Timarchus of incontinence, says, that a certain man gave the following honourable and useful counsel to the Lacedæmonians, being himself a chief in that state, distinguished by his virtue, and advanced in age: " The Lacedæmonians, (said he) were debating a question in which the advantage and credit of the state were concerned, when a man rose to deliver his sentiments, notorious for the baseness of his life, but at the same time possessing all the talents of an accomplished orator. The counsel he gave respecting what ought to be done was so convincing, that it received general approbation, and a decree was about to be passed according to his opinion; when, with great vehemence and indignation, there arose one of those leaders, whom the Lacedæmonians revered as judges and directors of the public councils, distinguished by his age and the dignity of his character: ' What reason (he exclaimed) Oh Lacedæmonians! will there be to hope that this city and state can any longer remain secure and invincible, if we employ the counsels of such men as this; if this counsel be wise and meritorious, I beseech you, let us not suffer it to be disgraced by the pollution of its flagitious author.' Having said this, he called upon a man² celebrated for his fortitude and justice,

² *Called upon a man.*]—The same fact is related by Plutarch with some variation; he imputes to the ephori what Æschines

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tice, but of mean talents as an orator, and desired him, by the consent and request of all, to deliver, in the best manner he could, the sentiments of the eloquent speaker, in order that no mention of him being made, the decree of the people might pass in his name who had last spoken. The advice of this very prudent old man was followed, and thus the salutary counsel took place, while the name of its base author was changed."

Æschines here ascribes to an individual, but whoever suggested such a measure, we must certainly rather admire its discretion and its policy, than its justice.

C H A P. IV.

How Sulpitius Apollinaris laughed at one who asserted that he alone understood the history of Sallust, by enquiring the meaning of incertum stolidior an vanior¹.

WHEN we were young men at Rome, and, having changed the prætexta and the toga virilis, were looking out for masters of deeper knowledge,

¹ This is a very interesting chapter, and throws considerable light upon the customs and manners of the Romans.

knowledge, we were by chance among the book-fellers in the shoe-market, when Apollinaris Sulpitius, a man in the memory of us all, pre-eminently learned, ridiculed a boasting fellow, who read Sallust for money, and played upon him with that elegant kind of raillery which Socrates used to the sophists²; for when he asserted that he was
the

We learn from it in particular, that it was not unusual for critics and grammarians to give public lectures on some popular author, to which probably all were indiscriminately admitted on paying a certain fee: we may learn also, from the remarks of Gellius, and the wicked wit of his friend Sulpitius Apollinaris, that this task was not often undertaken, and consequently not attended, by men of the greatest eminence for parts and learning. Such meetings probably resembled our spouting clubs, as any one appears to have proposed what question he pleased, and the circumstance may have given rise to the improvisatori of modern Rome, who for a trifling sum of money will, on any given subject, pronounce a number of extemporary verses.

This chapter also informs us that Gellius was of noble rank, for the *prætexta* was only worn by the noble youths of Rome.

² *To the sophists.*]—Cicero alludes to the talent of Socrates.

Socrates de seipso detrahens, indisputatione plus tribuebat iis quos volebat refutare, ita cum aliud diceret atque fortiret, libenter uti solitus est, ea dissimulatione quam Græci *συνειση* vocant. Acad. Quest. l. iv. c. 5.

Something of this kind is related of Socrates, in Ælian's *Various History*. Perceiving that Alcibiades was vain of his riches and estates, he displayed to his view a map of the earth.—Shew me Attica, says the philosopher. Alcibiades obeyed. Shew me your estates, says Socrates. The young Athenian

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the only³ man who could read and explain Sallust, and openly boasted that he not only critically searched into the outer skin, and obvious meaning of his sentiments, but into their very blood and marrow. Apollinaris professing to embrace and reverence his learning, "Very opportunely (says he) my good master, are you come with the blood and marrow of Sallust's words; for yesterday I was asked the meaning of those words in the fourth book of his history, where, speaking of Lentulus, he says, it is very uncertain, *stolidiorne esset an vanior*." Sallust's words are these: "At Cnæus Lentulus patriciæ gentis collega ejus, cui cognomentum Clodiano fuit, perincertum *stolidior an vanior*, legem de pecunia quam Sylla emptoribus bonorum remiserat exigenda promulgavit." Apollinaris therefore affirmed that this question was asked him, and that he could not solve it, namely, what were the different meanings

Athenian confessed he could not find them.—What, replied the moralist, are you so vain of what is in fact no portion of the earth.

³ *Only man.*]—There is an epigram preserved in the first volume of the Latin Anthology, which turns upon this idea:

De Var. Catone grammatico et poeta
Furius bibaculus,
Cato grammaticus Latina Siren
Qui solus legit ac facit poetas.

Where *solus legit* seems to mean the only man who knows how to read them.

of

of *stolidior* and *vanior*? for Sallust appeared to have separated and opposed them to each other, as if they were unlike, and not the same species of defect; he therefore requested that he would instruct him in the meaning and derivation of both. The other, with a grin upon his countenance, and with a turned-up lip, shewing how much he despised the subject of enquiry and the person who enquired, “I (said he) am accustomed to investigate and unfold the marrow and blood of old and recondite words, not those which are in daily use with the vulgar, for he must needs be *more foolish* and *vain* than Cnæus Lentulus himself, who does not know that vanity and levity are the same species of folly.” Having said this, he left off abruptly, and was preparing to depart; we, however, detained him, and pressed him, as did more particularly Apollinaris, to expatiate more fully and openly upon the difference, or, if he thought proper, the similarity of the two words, and he entreated that he would not grudge this information to one desirous of instruction. He, however, plainly perceiving that he was laughed at, pretended to have business, and left us. We afterwards learned from Apollinaris, that the meaning of *vanus* was not according to the vulgar usage, *desipiens*, or *hebes*, or *ineptus*; but as the most learned of the ancients used it, as *mendax* and *infidus*, and they opposed *levia* and *inania* to *gravia* and *vana*; but men were called *stolidi*, not so

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much signifying *stulti* and *excordes*, as *tetri*, *molesti*, *illepidi*, which the Greeks called *μολῳχοι* and *φορτικοι*; and he added, that each of these words, with their derivations, were found in Nigidius's publications, which I have noticed, having sought for and found them, in order that I might insert them in these commentaries, and which I think I have somewhere or other already introduced.

CHAP. V.

Quintus Ennius, in his seventh book of Annals, has written quadrupes eques, and not as many read, quadrupes equus *.

IT happened that at the house of Antonius Julian the rhetorician, a man of respectability and of great eloquence, myself and some of his friends were amusing ourselves in literary pastimes, and such ingenuous festivities, at Puteoli,

* The lines quoted in this chapter from Virgil, are to be found in the third book of the Georgics, v. 115.

The poet may properly enough apply to the horseman that which his skill or management obliges or teaches the horse to do.

Information was brought to Julian, that a reader, a man of learning, with a very musical voice, was reciting to the people, in the theatre, the Annals of Ennius. Let us go, said he, to hear this Ennianist, whoever he be (by which name he chose to call himself.) We found him reading, amongst vast clamours of applause, the seventh book of the Annals; and we heard him very distinctly pronouncing these lines—

Denique vi magnâ quadrupes *equus* atque ele-
phanti
Projiciunt sese.

Having read a few verses more, he departed, with the loud applauses of the whole assembly. Then said Julian, as he passed out of the theatre, “What think you of this stranger and his *quadrupes equus*? for thus he reads it:—

Denique vi magnâ quadrupes *equus* atque ele-
phanti
Projiciunt sese.

Do you suppose, if his instructor had been a man of any value, that he would have said *quadrupes equus*, and not *quadrupes eques*? that Ennius so wrote it, no one at all attentive to ancient learning has ever doubted.” But when some of the company said, that they had read (every one with his schoolmaster) *quadrupes equus*, and wondered what was the meaning of *quadrupes*

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eques, "I would have you (says he) my good young men, read Quintus Ennius as accurately as Virgil did, who, imitating this verse in his Georgics, has put *equitem* for *equum* in the following lines:—

Frena Pelethronii Lapithæ gyrosque dedere
Impositi dorso, atque *equitem* docuere sub armis
Insultare solo, & gressus glomerare superbos.

In which place, unless any one interpret it absurdly, *equitem* can only signify *equum*; for most of the ancients called the man who rode, and the horse on which the rider sat, *equitem*; therefore the term *equitare*, which is derived from *eques*, is applied both to the rider and the horse moving under him. Thus Lucilius, a man eminent for his knowledge of the Latin language, uses the phrase '*equum equitare*,' in the following verses:

Queis hinc currere *equum* nos atque *equitare*
videmus,

His equitat curritque; oculis *equitare* videmus.

And again, '*Ergo oculis equitat.*' However (continued he) I was not content with these examples; and in order that it might appear beyond all doubt and dispute, whether Ennius wrote *equus* or *eques*, I procured with great trouble and expence, for the sake of examining this one verse, an edition of the first and oldest antiquity, with the emendations of Lampadion, and I there
found

found it was written, not *equus* but *eques*." Julian made these and other observations to us with much learning and great good nature; but I afterwards met with them also in his works.

CHAP. VI.

Ælius Melissus, in the book entitled "De Loquendi Proprietate," which he at first calls a cornu-copiæ, has asserted what is not worth memory or mention, presuming that there is a great difference betwixt matrona and materfamilias.

ÆLIUS MELISSUS was a man in the highest repute, within my memory, among grammarians, but in matters of literature he had more boasting and sophistry than real talents. Besides many other publications, he wrote a

[*Ælius Melissus.*]—There were several illustrious Romans of this name. Lenæus Melissus is mentioned by Suetonius among his eminent grammarians; Caius Melissus was the friend of Mæcenas, and was entrusted by him with the care of regulating the public libraries in the Octavian Porch. See Gronovius. The Melissus here mentioned was a cotemporary of Gellius, and probably a descendant of the former.

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book which, when it was published, was thought very learned: its title held out a great allure-ment to readers; it professed to be on correct speaking. Who could suppose that he spoke properly, unless he had thoroughly studied Melissus? In that book is the following passage: "She is called *matrona*^a who has had one child, she who has had more is called *materfamilias*, as a sow when she has had one litter is called *porcetra*, when many, *scropba*." We are left, however, to consult the augurs, whether this remark of Melissus be a thought and conjecture of his own, or whether he had read it in some other author. With regard to *porcetra*, he has certainly the authority of Pomponius^b, in his comedy which has that title; but that *ma-
trona*

^a *Matrona*.]—There were different kinds of marriage contracts among the Romans, upon a careful attention to which much depends with respect to the understanding of local circumstances and private manners. The reader will do well to consult that part of Heineccius which discusses the subject of Roman marriages, where the difference betwixt the *matrona* and the *materfamilias* is distinctly pointed out. The legal marriages were called the *usus*, the *confarreatio*, and the *coemptio*; and it is certain from the best authorities, that the wife who was married without regard to one of these observances was *matrona*, but not *materfamilias*, whatever number of children she might have. The distinction therefore here specified by Melissus is neither correct nor sufficient.

^b *Pomponius*.]—There were two Latin poets of this name, one Lucius Pomponius, who is the one here alluded to,

trona is not used except to express one who has had one child, and *materfamilias*, one who has had more, he can produce no authority from writers of antiquity. This in short seems the more probable, and which accurate explainers of ancient words have affirmed, that she is properly called *matrona* who is married to a husband, as long as she remains in that state, although she may have no children, and she is so called from the word *mater*, which though not yet obtained, she has the hope and chance of obtaining, whence that state is called matrimony; but she only is called *materfamilias* * who is in the hand

to, and a writer of comedies; the other, Publius Pomponius, a writer of tragedies. H. Stephens has preserved fragments of both. Stephens mentions a play of the former called *Porcaria*, but not one of the name of *Porcetra*.

* *Materfamilias*.]—This word seems to be used by Plautus merely as synonymous with *uxor*, without any discrimination of the kind abovementioned:

Nunquam enim nimis curare possunt suum parentem filia;
Quem æquius est nos potiore habere quam te postidea
pater

Viros nostros, quibus tu voluisti esse nos *matresfamilias*.

Thus translated in Thornton's Plautus:

Children can never take too tender care
Of a loved parent; whom should we esteem
More dear than you, and next to you our husbands,
Of your own choice.

The reader will perceive that this translation is hardly marked enough.

of her husband, and under his direction, or the direction of him under whose authority her husband is, for she comes not only into wedlock, but into the family of her husband, and the situation of his heir.

CHAP. VII.

In what manner Favorinus reproved one who was unseasonably enquiring concerning the ambiguities of words. The different significations of the word CONCIO¹.

MY friend Favorinus happening to meet, near the temple of the Carmentæ, with Domitius, a man of learning, and an eminent grammarian at Rome, but surnamed the *insane*,

¹ H. Stephens is at considerable pains to prove the title to this chapter spurious and corrupt, but he exerts himself to little purpose, for it does not at all matter whether the title of the chapter tells the reader how Favorinus treated Domitius, or how Domitius behaved to Favorinus.

There is a great deal of truth in these harsh words put into the mouth of Domitius; and it is obvious enough, that with all his talents and accomplishments, this Favorinus, the friend and favourite of Gellius, discovers on various occasions a great deal of pedantry.

from

from his ferocious and churlish disposition, said to him (I was with Favorinus at the time) " Pray tell me, master, have I done wrong in calling (*δημογορίας*) addresses to the people, when I wished to express it in Latin, *conciones*? for I am not sure, and I wish to know, whether any one of the ancients, who were attentive to propriety of speech, called an oration by the word *concio*?" " Sir (replied Domitius, with a fierce voice and countenance) there is nothing good to be expected when you distinguished philosophers think of nothing but words and authorities for words; but I will send you a book, wherein you will find what you want, for I, a grammarian, am occupied in the study of morality and the rules of life, but you, philosophers, are, as Cato calls you, dead glossaries²; you collect, and read over and over old filthy records, foolish and trifling as the words of old women hired for mourners. I wish our whole race were mute, dishonesty would then lack its instrument of mischief." When we had left him, " We addressed this man (says Favorinus) at an unlucky moment, for he seems to me to be in the paroxysm of some disease; observe, however (adds he) that this waywardness of disposition, which is called melancholy, does not happen to

² *Dead glossaries.*]—*Mortuaria glossaria.* It is sometimes read *mortualia*; the latter term occurs in Plautus: *hæc non sunt non nūq̃ mortualia.*

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little and weak minds ; but there is something of elevated affection in it³, and strong truths are often spoken, though without any regard to time or season. What now is your opinion of his remark upon philosophers? Would it not have been thought worthy of remembrance, if Antisthenes or Diogenes had spoken it?" He sent, however, the book soon after to Favorinus, as he had promised; it was, I think, a publication of Verrius Flaccus, in which questions of this sort were discussed; that *senatus* expressed the place of the assembly, and the persons who formed it; that *civitas* denoted the situation, the town, the government, and the multitude; that *tribus* and *decuriæ* were used for the place, the government, and the inhabitants; and that *concio* signified three things, namely, the tribune from which the oration was delivered, the assembly of the people standing round, and the speech itself. As Marcus Tullius in his speech against Quintus Metellus says, "I ascended (*in concionem*) the tribune, a concourse was assembled;" and in his Orator he says, "I often heard the assemblies (*conciones*) exclaim, when my words appeared particularly in point, for their ears wait, that the sentence may be fitly bound together by well-placed words." This word signified also an assembly of the people, and the speech itself, which was not proved by examples taken from that book, but, at the re-

³ *Elevated affection.*]—Literally heroic affection. The expression and sentiment is from Aristotle.

quest of Favorinus, we afterwards found proofs of these various significations, both in Cicero, as I before observed, and in the most elegant of the ancient writers; but what he most wanted, namely, to find *concio* used for the speech itself, the title of one of Cicero's books exhibits, which is called by Tully himself ("*contra concionem Q. Metelli*") which means only an oration against the speech of Q. Metellus.

C H A P. VIII.

The ομοιοτελευτα, and ομοιοπτωτα, and other things of this sort, which are considered as ornaments of composition, are trifling and puerile; this shewn from the verses of Lucilius.

LUCILIUS has exposed with great wit, and ridicule, in his fifth Satire, those literary affectations, such as words ending in a similar manner, or of an equal number of syllables, or otherwise like or equal to each other, by the immoderate and unseasonable use of which foolish people, who wish to appear Isocratics¹, excite disgust;

¹ *Isocratics.*]—In other words, followers of Isocrates. This person reckoned among his disciples a long catalogue of
of

disgust; he has shewn how stupid and childish they are in that passage, wherein he complains to a friend that he had neglected to visit him when sick:

Quo me habeam pacto tametsi non quæris
docebo,

Quando in eo numero mansi quo in maxima
nunc est

Pars hominum, ut periisse velis, quem *nolueris*
cum

Visere *debueris*. Hoc *nolueris*, & *debueris*, te

Si minus delectat, quod ἀτεχνον Isocratium est: 'Ο-

χληρωδεςque simul totum ac συμμειρακιωδες.

Non operam perdo, si tu hic.

of honourable names; among others were Hyperides, Isæus, Xenophon, Theopompus, Naucrates, &c.

The following character of Isocrates from Quintilian, which I give in the translation of Patfall, seems to deserve a place here: "Isocrates, in a different kind of eloquence, is fine and polished, and better adapted for engaging in a mock than real battle. He was studious of all the beauties of discourse, and had his reasons for it, having calculated his eloquence for schools, and not for contentions at the bar. His invention was easy; he was very fond of graces and embellishments; and so nice was he in his composition, that his extreme care is not without reprehension."

Yet Cicero observes of Isocrates, that in what the peculiarities of his art consisted is not evident. Cicero's words are: Magnus et nobilis rhëtor Isocrates, cujus ipsius quam constet esse artem non invenimus.—He adds; Discipulorum autem atque eorum qui protinus ab hac sunt disciplina profecti, multa de arte præcepta reperimus.

De Invent. Rhet. ii. 2.

CHAP. IX.

Signification of the word infecendo, in M. Cato; and that infecendo is preferable to insequendo, though many think otherwise.

IN an old book which contained an oration of M. Cato *de Ptolemæo contra Thermum*, was this passage:—"Sed si omnia dolo fecit, omnia avaritiæ atque pecuniæ causa fecit, ejusmodi scelera nefaria, quæ neque *infecendo*, neque legendo, audivimus, supplicium pro factis dare oportet." Enquiry was made concerning the word *infecendo*. Of those who were present there was one who was a real scholar, and one who was a sciolist; these two entered into a dispute, and the grammarian asserted that it ought to be written *insequendo* and not *infecendo*, since it has the meaning of *insequens*, and we use *inseque* for proceed, in the imperative, as *insequere*. Thus in Ennius:

Inseque musa, manu Romanorum induperator,
Quod quisque in bello gessit cum rege Philippo.

The other, a man of real learning, said, there was nothing wrong, but that *infecendo* was correct and proper, and that attention was to be paid to Velius Longus,

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Longus¹, an accomplished man, who, in his commentary on the use of old words, has said, that in Ennius we should not read *inseque*, but *insece*. Thus by the ancients, what we call *narrationes* was termed *sektionēs*. Varro also thus wrote the line of Plautus in the *Menæchmi* :

Hæc nihilo mihi videntur esse sectius, quam
somnia.

Such was their controversy. I am of opinion that Cato used *insecendo*, and Q. Ennius *insece*, without the *u*, for I found in the Patrensian library a work of Livius Andronicus, of undoubted antiquity, called the *Odyssey*, in the first verse of which this word was written without the *u* :

Virum mihi Camena *insece* versutum.

From the verse of Homer :

Ἀνδρᾶ μοι εὐνεπε Μῆδ' ἀ πολυτροπὸν.

A book of this age and credit justifies my confidence. As for the verse of Plautus, where *sectius quam somnia* occurs, this is of no great weight. The ancients, I believe, said *insece* rather than *in-*

¹ *Velius Longus*.]—This is sometimes, but erroneously, written *Verrius Longus*.

There seems but little to observe concerning this chapter, but that the ancients appear to have used the terminations *que* and *ce* indifferently, as *hujusce* and *hujusque*, *cujusque* and *cujusce*.

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sequere, because it was softer and more harmonious; but both have the same meaning. The words *sequor*, and *secūa*, and *secutio*, differ in the manner of using them; but whoever shall thoroughly examine them will find their origin and formation the same. Learned men, and translators of the Greek words, ἀνδρα μοι εἰπτε μῦθα, and of εἰπτε νυν μοι μῦθαι, think the word *dicere* means the same as *insequi*, for, say they, in εἰπτε ν is doubled, in εἰπτε it is translated; for that very word εἶπν, which signifies *verba*, they say can only be derived from εἰσθαι and εἰπειν. For the same reason our ancestors used to call relations and discourses *inseſtiones*.

CHAP. X.

Those persons are mistaken who imagine, when inquiring into the state of fever, that it is the pulse of the vein, and not of the artery, that they feel.

DURING the heat of the summer I retired to the country house of Herodes, in the territory of Attica, at a place called Cephisia, diversified with groves and rivulets. While there, I was seized with a violent diarrhoea, accompanied with fever. At this place, when Calvisius Taurus the philosopher, and several of his followers, who came from Athens to visit me, were met, the physician of the village, who was sitting by me, began to explain to Taurus what the nature of the complaint was that I was afflicted with, and with what degree of force, and at what intervals the fever made its return; then in the course of his argument, having said I was mending, he added, and you, Taurus, may satisfy yourself of this if you will lay your finger upon the vein. When the learned men who were with Taurus had heard the physician speak in so illiterate and improper a manner, calling the artery the vein, attributing his error to ignorance, they began to whisper to each other, and to signify their disapprobation

disapprobation by their looks ; which when Taurus observed, turning with great mildness, as his custom was, to the physician, “ we have no doubt, worthy Sir,” he said, “ that you are not ignorant of the distinction between arteries and veins ; you know that the veins have no power of moving themselves, and that we only examine them for the purpose of drawing away blood, but that the arteries, by their motion and pulsation, shew the state of the health, and the degree of intenseness of fever ; but it is easy to see that you spoke rather with a view to accommodate yourself to the common mode of discoursing, than through ignorance of the nature of the vessels, and you are not the only person I have heard speaking so incorrectly, calling the artery the vein ; let us then have the pleasure of seeing that you are more expert in curing diseases than in discoursing upon them, and may the gods bless your endeavours.”

When I reflected afterwards upon the circumstance of the physician being reproved for speaking incorrectly, I considered that it was not only indecent for a physician, but for any person, who has been liberally educated, to be ignorant of the structure of those parts of our body which are not difficult of investigation, and which nature has made easily intelligible, that we might be enabled to take the necessary precautions for the preservation of our health, and therefore whatever time I could spare from my necessary avo-

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cations I employed in reading such medical books, as I thought were best calculated to furnish me with instruction upon those subjects. Amongst these, with many other matters not foreign to the purpose, I remember to have read on the subject of the veins and arteries nearly to the following purport. A vein, called by physicians *αγγειον*¹, is receptacle for the blood, mixed and blended with the vital spirit, in which the blood is in a

¹ *Αγγειον*.]—The antients called all the vessels of the body by this name. Machaon applies it also to the bag that contains the foetus in utero. Angeiologia is that part of anatomy which describes the vessels, veins, arteries, lymphatics, lacteals, &c.

The antients appear to have had very confused notions of the blood vessels; they were originally called by one name (veins) and the term artery was confined to the *ασπρια αρτηρια*, or wind-pipe: at length it was observed that some of the vessels had a motion or pulsation, others not; those that were endowed with motion were supposed to be filled with spirit or air, which they were thought to receive from the lungs, and were called arteries; the vessels without motion, and carrying blood, were called veins. Hippocrates thought that the veins were derived from the liver, the great fountain of blood, as it was then imagined; the arteries from the heart, which received its spirit or air from the vessels of the lungs; but he is not every where consistent with himself. In his book *de Carne*, he describes the veins and arteries as derived from the same fountain. “*Dux enim sunt a corde venæ cavæ, et hæc quidem arteria, illa vero vena cava nominatur. Arteria vero calidi plus continet quam vena cava, et spiritus penus est.*”

* *Hippoc. Oper. Om. Ferio. p. 250. tom. 1.*

much

much greater proportion than the spirit; an artery, on the contrary, is a receptacle for the vital spirit blended and mixed with the blood, but in which the spirit predominates. Σφυγμος, pulsatio, or the pulse, is the natural and involuntary motion, or contraction and dilatation of the heart and arteries; by the antient Greek writers it is called the systole and diastole of the heart and arteries.

CHAP. XI.

Verses of Furius Antiates ignorantly censured by Cæsellius Vindex; which verses are subjoined¹.

I Cannot agree with Cæsellius Vindex, the grammarian, though in my opinion he is by no means destitute of learning. He had hastily and ignorantly affirmed that Furius, an old poet,

¹ The fourth line of the verses quoted from Furius, I would amend thus. What can the meaning possibly be of "Hic fulica levis," without saying any thing of the false quantity? I would therefore read "sic fulica levius."

Fulica is a sea fowl, and this will make the line not only intelligible, but the figure very poetical: "Thus, lighter than a sea fowl, the vessel skims along the main."

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disgraced the Latin language by forming such words as these, which to my ear appear not inconsistent with poetic elegance, nor vulgar or unpleasant to be spoken, as some of those are which celebrated writers have harshly and coarsely introduced. The words of Furius which Cefellius has censured are these: he applies the term *lutescere* to the earth when it became muddy; darkness coming over like night he expresses by *noctescere*; to recover wonted strength by *virescere*: he describes the wind curling the sea, and making it shine, by the word *purpurat*²; and to become rich he calls *opulescere*. But I have subjoined the lines from Furius's poem.

Sanguine diluitur tellus: cava terra *lutescit*.
 Omnia *noctescunt* tenebris caliginis atræ.
 Increscunt animi, *virescit* vulnere virtus.
 Hic fulica levis volitat super æquora classis:
 Spiritus Eurorum virides cum *purpurat* undas.
 Quo magis in patriis possint opulescere campis.

² *Purpurat.*]—The term purple is frequently applied to the sea by Homer, in the sense of clear and splendid. See Falsterus.

Vox purpureum & purpura non semper pro illo eximie rubente colore, sed etiam quandoque pro nitore illo qui in optimis coloribus efflorescit, sumitur.

CHAP. XII.

The ancients had the custom of changing verbs active into verbs passive¹.

IT was formerly considered as an elegance in composition to substitute words possessing an active for a passive signification, and vice versa. So Juventius in one of his plays: " Pallium un-

¹ Barthius, Taubmannus, and Rutgerfius, will supply the more curious and inquisitive reader with pertinent illustrations of this chapter.

The commentators have been greatly divided whether it should be read Juventius or Terentius. Some manuscripts have Juventus. See Barthius Advers. 1026.

Many instances might be easily adduced of similar usage of the active for the passive verb. Thus in Virgil :

Tum prora avertit et undis
Dat latus,

Where *avertit* is used for *avertitur*.

Nox humida cœlo
Præcipitat.

Where *præcipitat* is used for *præcipitatur*, &c.

Cicero also somewhere has *terra movet* for *terra movetur*.

Consult Rutgerfius, Var. Lect. p. 439.—Who, in vindication of the reading of Juventius, affirms, that the passage here quoted, does not exist in Terence.

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guit face *ut splendeat*." Is not this much more elegant than if he had said, "*ne maculetur?*" Plautus too in the same manner, "*quid est hoc? rugat pallium, amictus non sum commodè.*" Plautus has likewise used *pulveret*, not to signify to make dusty, but to become dusty.

" Exi tu, Dave, age,
 " Sparge, mundum esse hocce vestibulum volo;
 " Venus ventura est nostra. Non hoc *pulveret*."

In the *Affinaria* too, he says, *contemples* for *contempleris* :

" Meum caput *contemples* siquidem e re consultas tuâ."

Cnæus Gellius likewise in his *Annals* says—"After the tempest *sedavit* (settled) Adherbal sacrificed a bull." Mark Cato too in his *Origines*,—"Eodem convenæ complures ex agro accessitavere, eo res eorum auxit." Varro, in the book which he addressed to Marcellus on the Latin language,—"In priore verbo graves prosodiæ, quæ fuerunt, manent, reliquæ *mutant*," which is very elegantly put for *mutantur*:" this also appears to be the case in the same Varro's seventh book of his *Res Divinæ*: "Inter duas filias regum *quod mutet* inter Antigonom & Tulliam est enim advertere." But we find in almost all ancient authors instances of verbs passive being used for active ones, of which I now remember a few, as *muneror* te for *munero*,
significor

significor for *significo*, *sacrificor* for *sacrifico*, *adsentior* for *adsentio*, *fœneror* for *fœnero*, *pigneror* for *pignero*, with many others, which in the course of reading will frequently be found.

C H A P. XIII.

*Reply made by Diogenes the philosopher to one who attacked him with an impudent sophism*¹.

WE were celebrating the Saturnalia at Athens in an elegant game of this kind, when many of us, engaged in the same literary pursuits,

¹ A curious incident occurs in Athenæus, book x. c. 12. which may be inserted here as illustrative of the contents of this chapter :

It was customary at Athens to impose a certain penalty on those who could not give the solution of an ænigma; they were obliged to drink up a goblet of wine.

Again, in the same chapter :

The ancients considered the art of expounding ænigmas as a proof of having received a liberal education; they were generally introduced as a part of the entertainment. The reward, the author observes, was what an ingenuous mind would have blushed to receive; the penalty for not solving them was, to drink a goblet of wine.

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pursuits, were assembled to pass away our time: we discussed questions of wit called *sophismata*; every man flung them before the company like so many dice, and the prize for solving, or the penalty for being unable to solve the question, was a sesterce. This money being collected by one in capacity of a waiter, an entertainment was provided for those engaged in the game. The questions were of this sort, although in Latin, they appear inelegant and awkward: "What snow is, hail is not. Snow is white, therefore hail is not white." There was a familiar one to that: "What a man is, a horse is not. Man is an animal, therefore a horse is not an animal." It was his part, who was called by the cast of the die

The above rewards and penalties refer to questions and riddles of a less honourable nature. There were others introduced only among men of science and accomplishments, and involved some subtleties of philosophy or of grammar: the reward in such a case was a garland; they who did not solve them were compelled to drink a goblet of wine mixed with salt.

A custom prevails in this country, in drinking parties, of imposing a fine of a bumper for any supposed offence against the *decencies of the banquet*, and for more atrocious crimes offenders are occasionally made to drink a glass of salt and water; doubtless a custom borrowed from the high classical authority spoken of above.

A fragment of Antiphanes, in the above mentioned book of Athenæus, adds, that the culprit in these cases was compelled to drink his salt and water without taking breath, and with his hands tied behind him.

to unravel the question, to declare in what part of the sentence, and in what word the fallacy consisted; if he did not declare this, no reward was given him, he was fined a sesterce, and that fine went towards furnishing the entertainment. But I must relate the facetiousness with which Diogenes repaid a sophism of this kind, proposed in contempt by a logician from the Platonic school. When the logician began, "What I am, that you are not." Diogenes agreeing, he added, "I am a man." To this likewise Diogenes assented. The logician then concluded, "therefore you are not a man." "This (returned Diogenes) is false; and if you would have it true, you must begin your proposition with me."

CHAP. XIV.

What number HEMIOLIOS is, and what EPITRITOS, which words our countrymen have not ventured to translate into Latin¹.

THE Greeks have certain ways of expressing numbers, for which we have no words in Latin. They who have written in Latin upon the subject of numbers have used Greek terms, for they were unwilling to risk the absurdity of coining words in our tongue; for what word could express *hemiolius* or *epitritus*, which contains in itself a whole number and its half, as three to two, fifteen to ten, thirty to twenty. *Epitritos* is that which contains a whole number and its third part, as four to three, twelve to nine, forty to thirty.

It is worth while to notice and remember these terms expressive of number, because, unless they are understood, the most subtle calculations in the writings of philosophers cannot be understood.

¹ Gronovius informs us in his note, that Vitruvius rendered the Greek word *ημιολιος* by the Latin *sesquialterum*, and *επιτριτος* by *tertiarium*. The old glossaries interpret *επιτριτος* by *sesquitertium*.

CHAP. XV.

M. Varro has made a remark on hexameter verses of too minute and trifling a nature¹.

IN long verses called hexameters, and in iambs of six feet, they who study metre have observed, that the two first feet and the two last may consist of single words standing by themselves, but that the middle ones cannot; but that they always consist of words divided, or mixed and confused. Varro in his grammar says, he has observed in the hexameter verse, that upon all occasions the fifth half foot finishes a word, and that the first five feet have equal power toward completing the verse with the other seven; and this, he says, is contrived by a certain geometrical ratio.

¹ The meaning of what is here not very clearly said, is, that the third foot of an hexameter verse cannot form a word of itself; but this is absurd, and was not attended to by the best poets. Muretus in his Various Readings points out several verses, both in Latin and Greek, in which this was not observed. One of them may be sufficient here:

Concutitur tum sanguis viscere perferentiscunt.

This line is in Lucretius, and sanguis, the third foot, is a word by itself.

B O O K XIX.

C H A P. I.

*The answer of a certain philosopher, who was asked
why he became pale in a storm at sea.*

IN our way from Cassiopia¹ to Brundisium we passed through the Ionian, a sea violent, vast, and agitated with storms. During the whole first night of our voyage a very stormy side wind filled our vessel with water. At length, after much complaining, and sufficient employment at the pump, daylight appeared, but brought no diminution of our danger, nor cessation of the storm; but the whirlwinds seemed increasing, and the black sky, and the balls of fire, and the clouds, forming themselves into

¹ *Cassiopia.*]—Called also Cassope, a town on the coast of Epirus. There were others of the same name in that vicinity. See Palmer's *Descr. Græc. Antiq.* p. 262, &c.

frightful

frightful shapes (which they called Typhons)² appeared hanging over us ready to overwhelm the ship. In the company was a celebrated philosopher of the stoic school, whom I had known at Athens, a man of some consequence, and rather distinguished for the good order in which he kept his pupils. Amidst all these dangers, and this tumult of sea and sky, I watched this man attentively, anxious to know the state of his mind, whether he was dauntless and unalarmed. I observed that he expressed no fear nor apprehensions, uttered no complaints like the rest, nor gave into their way of exclaiming; but in paleness and terror of countenance he differed but little from his neighbours. When the sky grew clear, and the sea became calm, a certain rich

² *Typhons.*]—Pliny describes in formidable terms both the *Ecnephias* and *Typhon*, two kinds of hurricane or whirlwind, b. ii. c. 48.—Of all phænomena of this kind, none is more alarming to the sailor than the waterspout, which happens sometimes in the Mediterranean. Tournefort has described one very forcibly. Many have been the solutions offered for this surprising appearance. M. Buffon supposes the kind of spout there described to proceed from the operation of fire beneath the bed of the sea, as the waters appear greatly agitated at the surface. Some have accounted for it by suction, as in the application of a cupping glass to the skin. These are peculiar to the sea, but typhons of a similar kind have also been experienced by land, of such violence as to strip houses of their roofs, and to do incredible damage, catching birds and other animals in their vortex, and dashing them with violence to the ground.

Greek

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Greek from Asia approached the stoic; his wealth was proved from his expensive appearance, his quantity of baggage, and his train of attendants. "What is the reason (said he, in a bantering humour) that when we were in danger, you, who are a philosopher, were afraid, and looked pale, while I was neither afraid nor pale?" The philosopher, doubting a little whether it was worth while to make any answer: "If (said he) in so violent a storm, I did discover a little fear, you are not worthy of being told the reason; but that follower of Aristippus shall give you an answer for me, who, upon a similar occasion, being asked by a man much like yourself, why, as a philosopher, he was afraid, while he feared nothing, replied, that there was not the same cause for fear in one as the other, for the preservation of a worthless coxcomb was not an object worthy of much anxiety, but that he was concerned for the safety of an Aristippus." With this reply the stoic got rid of the rich Asiatic. But afterwards, as we were approaching Brundisium, and the winds were appeased, I asked him, "What was that cause of fear which he had refused to relate to him who had so improperly addressed him?" He then with kindness and politeness said to me, "Since you are desirous of knowing, hear, or rather read, and you will believe it the more readily, and remember it the better, what the original founder of the stoic sect

fect thought of that short-lived but necessary and natural fear." He then produced to us, from a little bag, the fifth book of Epictetus's *Dissertations*³, which, according to Arrian's arrangements, no doubt agree with the writings of Zeno and Chrysippus. In this book, which was written in Greek, we found a passage to this effect: "The vision of the mind, which philosophers call phantasies, by which the mind of man, on the first appearance of an object, is impelled towards the perception of that object, are not voluntary or controuled by the will, but obtrude themselves upon men by a certain power inherent in themselves; but there are also degrees of assent which they call *συνκαταθesis*, by which these appearances are known and judged of; these are

³ *The fifth book of Epictetus.*]—This is a strong testimony in favour of Arrian, though the fifth book, whence these words are taken, is no longer extant. We have at present only four, in which this passage does not occur. The stoics having invented for their wise man an elevation above the reach of nature, were obliged to devise these subtleties to escape the reproaches to which they would of course be exposed, when unexpectedly they were surprised in feeling as much weakness as other people, or perhaps more. The first appearances of things, as they struck the mind without reflection, were called *φαντασιας*; (fantasies) and considered as partly deceptions. Epictetus says in his *Enchiridion*, εὐθὺς ὡς παση φαντασια τραχηλα μελετα επιλεγειν ὅτι φαντασια ἐστὶ, καὶ ὡς παντως το φαινομενον, ch. 5. In every disagreeable appearance, exercise yourself to say, this is merely an appearance, or fancy, and not exactly as it seems.

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voluntary and under the controul of the wills of men ; therefore, when any terrible sound, either from heaven, or from the fall of any building, or a sudden messenger of unexpected danger, or any thing of that sort occurs, the mind even of a wise man cannot but be moved a little, and shrink, and suffer alarm, not from a preconceived opinion of any evil, but by certain rapid and unexpected attacks which overturn the power of the mind, and pervert the reason. In a little time, however, the wise man disapproves of these phantasies, these terrors of the mind ; that is, he does not give his assent to them, he does not acknowledge the propriety of the impression they make ; he casts them away, he renounces them ; nor does there appear to be any thing in them worthy of exciting alarm. And herein they say, is the difference between the mind of a wise man and that of a fool : a fool fancies things are as they appear to him on the first impulse of his mind, shocking and alarming, and by an assent of his mind he admits and gives way to them, for the stoics use the word *προσενδοξάζει* in their discussions of this subject ; but a wise man, although he be for a short time moved to paleness and alarm of countenance, yet does not give way, but retains the dignity and firmness of that opinion which he ever held concerning such objects, as of things by no means to be dreaded, though exciting momentary alarm by false appearances

pearances and vain terrors." Such was the opinion of Epictetus the philosopher, as we found from the decrees of the Stoics contained in that book. From which I have drawn a conclusion, that in such cases as I have mentioned, we are not to suppose a man foolish or ignorant because he turns pale, or grows as it were white; but we are to allow, that in the sudden impulse, he rather gives way to human infirmity, than that he really believes things to be what they appear.

CHAP. II.

Of the five senses; that two of them are more particularly common to the beasts.

MEN have five senses, which the Greeks call αἰσθησεις, by which mental and bodily pleasure seems to be pursued: the taste, the touch, the smell, the sight, the hearing. From all of these, the enjoyment of any immoderate degree of pleasure is deemed base and disgraceful; but of all pleasures, according to the opinion of wise men, that is considered as the most dishonourable, which is derived from the too

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great use of the taste and the touch; and those men who particularly devoted themselves to the indulgence of such beastly pleasures, the Greeks call *ακολασεις* and *ακραταις*, words of the deepest reproach. We call them incontinent or intemperate; for if you would have a closer translation of *ακολασεις*, it would still be a new word; but the two pleasures¹ derived from the taste and the touch, gluttony and debauchery, are alone common to man and beast; therefore he who was addicted to these pleasures, was numbered with beasts and wild animals. The pleasures spring-

¹ *Voluptates duæ.*]—Seneca, as a Stoic, is still more rigorous, and condemns all pleasures, as fit only for inferior animals. “*Voluptas bonum pecoris est. Magnam vitam facit titillatio corporis? Quid ergo dubitatis dicere, benè esse homini, si palato benè est? Et hunc tu, non dico inter viros numeras, sed inter homines, cujus summum bonum saporibus, ac coloribus, ac sonis constat? Excedat ex hoc animalium numero pulcherrimo ac diis secundo, mutis agregetur animal pabulo natum.*” Epist. 92. “Pleasure is the gratification of a beast. Can the external delight of the body produce an exalted state of life? Why then not declare at once that a man is of necessity well off when his palate is so? And can you reckon that person in the class, I do not say of men, but of human creatures, whose chief good consists in tastes, in colours, or in sounds? Let such a one secede from this class of superior animals, inferior only to the gods, and be numbered with the dumb brutes, as a creature born only to eat.”

The distinction of the Peripatetics here recorded, is, however, more accurate, and gives a good solution of the doubt proposed, why some pleasures are held more particularly base than others.

ing from the other three senses appear to be exclusively appropriate of man. I subjoin the words of Aristotle upon this subject, in order that the authority of a great and illustrious man may deter us from such disgraceful pleasures :—"Why are they called incontinent² who indulge to excess in the pleasures of the touch or the taste? (For both they who are immoderate in venery and in the enjoyments of luxury are esteemed incorrigible. Of the luxurious, however, some find gratification in the tongue (or palate) and others in the throat, whence the wish of Philoxenus to have the throat of a crane.) On the other hand, why are they who are excessive as to the pleasures of the sight and hearing not called incontinent? Is it because the delights afforded by the touch or taste are common to us with other animals; and, being thus common, are therefore the most dishonourable, and chiefly or solely objects of reproach? So that we censure a man who is addicted to them, and call him incontinent and incorrigible, for being overcome and enslaved by the meanest of pleasures. Now, there being five senses, other animals are gratified only by the two above mentioned; but from the rest they receive either no gratification at all, or they receive it by accident.

² *Incontinent.*]—In the original *αῤῥαταις*. I know no better word in English; yet incontinent is specific and limited, as it were, to want of chastity. In Greek, *αῤῥατης* is generic. Again, *ακολαστοι* I have rendered incorrigible; yet to an English ear, abandoned, is far better.

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Who then, retaining any degree of regard for the dignity of human nature, would delight in the pursuits of venery and gluttony, which are common to the swine and the ass? Socrates observed, that many men lived for the purpose of eating and drinking; but that he eat and drank for the purpose of preserving life; but Hippocrates³, a man of extraordinary wisdom, said of venery, ‘that it was a species of that virulent disorder which we call epilepsy. His words are these; *την συνουσιαν ειναι μικραν επιληψιαν.*’

³ *Hippocrates.*]—What is here ascribed to Hippocrates, is given by Galen, and Clemens of Alexandria, to Democritus; and as it appears not in the works of Hippocrates now extant, it is possible that Gellius wrote incorrectly from memory. Be his account right or wrong, it is literally and servilely transcribed by Macrobius.

CHAP. III.

That it is worse to be commended coldly, than to be violently censured.

FAVORINUS the philosopher affirmed that it was worse to be slightly and coldly praised, than to be vehemently and heavily attacked. “For (said he) the man who accuses and calumniates you, in the same proportion that he does it with acrimony, by so much is he considered as unjust and hostile

to you, and often therefore meets with no credit; while he who praises you grudgingly and without effort, appears to have a bad theme, and passes for a friend of one whom he wishes to praise, but cannot find a proper subject of his panegyric¹."

¹ Nothing can be more accurate than the distinction of Favorinus. This was exactly the species of treachery objected by Pope to Addison, who would, as he insinuates—

Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And without sneering teach the rest to sneer;
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserv'd to blame, or to commend,
A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend.

Prol. to Satires, v. 201.

Thus, among the sentences of Syrus, and others, collected by Gruter, we have,

Qui bene diffimulat citius inimico nocet.

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CHAP. IV.

The reason why the belly is relaxed by any sudden fright; and why fire provokes urine.

ARISTOTLE's Physical Questions is a book replete with every kind of ingenuity and elegance. He there enquires how it happens, that when the sudden apprehension of any great event comes upon people, violent commotions often take place in the belly? and why he who stands long before the fire, feels a disposition to discharge his urine? "The cause (says he) of the belly being depressed by fear, is, that fear always produces cold¹, he calls it (*ψυχροποιητικὴν*) which power of cold drives all the blood and warmth

¹ *Quod timor omnis sit algificus.*]—This mode of solving a problem is very common with Aristotle: he supposes a certain general effect, and then deduces the particular phenomena from it; but unfortunately the general position is arbitrarily assumed, is in itself disputable, and as difficult to account for as the thing enquired. Thus, for instance, that fear in general is productive of cold, is in itself a very doubtful axiom; and if true, it may as well be asked why fear produces cold, as why the specified effects take place from it. Modern philosophers perhaps do not much better understand the nature of these effects on the human frame, but they are more cautious in attempting to pronounce about them.

entirely

entirely from the skin, and at the same time causes paleness in those who fear: and that blood," adds he, "driven inwards, stirs up internal commotions."—On the frequent provocation of urine by fire, his words are these: "The fire dissolves the substance contained in the bladder, as the sun loosens the snow."

CHAP. V.

An extract from Aristotle, importing that snow-water is very pernicious to drink, and that crystal is formed from snow¹.

IN the hottest season of the year, myself and certain other intimates and friends had met at Tyburtum, the country seat of an opulent friend.

¹ The subject of this chapter is also discussed in Macrobius, book vii. chap. 12. A volume might easily be written, were I to attempt to enumerate all that has been said on the properties of snow. Bartholinus wrote an express treatise to prove its virtues; he entitles it *De Nivis Ufu Medico*, and asserts that snow tends to the prolongation of life, and prevents a multitude of diseases. Snow-water is the sole drink of the people of Norway in winter; and as the Norwegians are a hardy and long-lived people, it is probable that snow

friend. We were students in rhetoric and philosophy, and there was amongst us a good man, well instructed in the Peripatetic school, and a zealous follower of Aristotle. He restrained us from drinking water melted from snow, with much severity: he cited the authority of many celebrated physicians, and above all of Aristotle, a man most distinguished by his universal knowledge. From him he affirmed, that snow-water was highly beneficial to corn and trees, but was unwholesome as a drink to men, and produced consumptions, and by degrees other disorders, and for a long time fixed them in the bowels. Thus far he spoke with wisdom, with a kind intention, and with earnestness: but as there was still no cessation of drinking snow-water, he produced from the library at Tyburtum, which being in the temple of Hercules, was well furnished, a book of Aristotle, and laid it before us. "Trust then (said he) at least, the words of this wisest of men, and cease to sport with your health." In that

possesses no appropriate noxious qualities. It is remarkable that the editors of Chambers's Dictionary do not notice what is said against snow-water by Aristotle, though many authors are enumerated, who speak of its virtues and uses. That it contains nitre, and is admirably calculated to assist vegetation, are points, I believe too notorious to admit of argument or dispute. Martial has the following epigram on snow-water.

Non potare nivem, sed aquam potare rigentem
De nive, commenta est ingeniosa fitis.

book

book it was written, that snow-water was very destructive to drink, for that it had been coagulated with more solidity than that which the Greeks call crystal. The reason assigned for this was, that as water is hardened by the coldness of the air, it follows that an evaporation takes place, and a certain thin air is expressed and emitted from it. But (said he) the lightest part of it is evaporated, and that which remains is the heavier, and more gross and unwholesome, and being beaten by the impulse, becomes like white froth. But there is a plain proof that the wholesomer part is dissipated and evaporated, because the quantity is smaller than it was before it congealed. I have extracted and added a few of Aristotle's own words from that book.—“The reason why snow from water or ice is pernicious, is, that from all water congealed, the thinnest part is dissipated, and the lightest evaporates. A proof of it is, that it becomes less in quantity than it was before it was congealed; the most wholesome part of it therefore having escaped, of course what is left must be worse.”—When we had read this, we gave due honour to the great Aristotle, and ever since I have sworn war and vengeance against snow. Others, according to their different feelings, concluded a peace.

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CHAP. VI.

That shame impells the blood outward, but fear checks its circulation¹.

IN the problems of the philosopher Aristotle, is this passage: "Wherefore do men from shame look red, or from fear turn pale, these affections being similar? Is it because, in people

* The question introduced in this chapter is also discussed at length in Macrobius, book vii. chap. xi. Blushes, from whatever physical cause they arise, and whether they denote modesty or guilt, have been very useful instruments in the service of the poets, but have perhaps been never more successfully employed than by our Shakspeare, in the following passage:

I have mark'd
A thousand blushing apparitions
To start into her face—a thousand innocent flames
In angel whiteness bear away those blushes.

The idea that fear occasions paleness, whether it be true or not, has been applied to similar purposes in poetical description. The following passage in Smollett's *Ode to Independence*, is equal to any thing of the kind:

Far in the frozen regions of the North,
A goddess violated brought thee forth,
Immortal Liberty—whose look sublime
Hath blanch'd the tyrant's cheek in every varying clime.
ashamed,

ashamed, the blood flows from the heart to all parts of the body, so as to stop upon the surface; but in people afraid, it rushes from all quarters toward the heart?"—When I read this at Athens with my master Taurus, and asked his opinion of the matter—"He has told us (says he) properly and truly what happens when the blood is diffused, and when contracted; but he has not said why this happens. For it remains yet to be enquired, why shame diffuses the blood, or why fear contracts it, since shame is a species of fear. The philosophers define it thus :

Shame is the fear of just reproach."

CHAP. VII.

The meaning of the word OBESUM, and some other old words.

JULIUS PAULUS the poet, a man of character and of classical learning, had a small paternal seat on the Vatican hill: here he often invited us, and kindly entertained us with fruits and the produce of his garden. After a mild
autumnal

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autumnal day, when Julius Celsinus and myself had supped with him, and had heard at his table the *Alcestes* of Lævius', and were returning to the city with the declining sun, we reflected upon the rhetorical figures, the new usages of certain words, and the striking passages in Lævius's play. As each word occurred which was worthy of notice, as far as our memory could supply us, we made use of it. The passages which then presented themselves were these:—

Corpore, *inquit*, pectoreque undique *obeso*,
Ac mente exsensâ tardigenulo senio oppressum.

Here we noticed that *obesum*, which he uses to signify *thin*, *elegant*, is applied rather with propriety, than according to usual custom; vulgarly and improperly it means *fat* and *bulky*. We observed likewise, that he says, *obliteram gentem*, for *obliteratam*—and he calls enemies who break their treaty *fœdisfragos*, not *fœderisfragos*. The blushing Aurora he calls *pudoricolorem*, and Memnon *nocticolorem*, & forte, *dubitanter*; and from the word *fileo*, he speaks of *silenta loca*, and

* *Lævius*]—Many editions read *Nævius*; but it is certain that it was Lævius who wrote a tragedy called *Alcestes*, on the model of the *Alcestes* of Euripides: so also did Accius and Ennius. This Lævius is before mentioned by Gellius, book ii. c. 24. See H. Stephens on this chap. p. 112 of his edition—for *siliceo* he proposes to read *silicio*, from *silax*, *silicis*; *silicius* means flinty, hard-hearted.

pulverulenta,

pulverulenta, and *pestilenta*; and *carendum*, *carendum tui*, instead of *carendum te*; and *magno ipete*, for *impetu*. He has also put the word *fortescere* for *fortem fieri*, *dolentiam* for *dolore*, and *avens* for *libens*. He also uses *caris intolerantibus* for *intolerandis*, and *manciolis* for *tenellis manibus*, and *quiescam feliceo* and *fiere impendio infit* for *fieri impensè incipit*, and *accipitret* for *jaceret*. We amused ourselves with noticing these among various Lævian particularities: but others, which appeared likewise foreign from common usage, and too highly poetical, we passed over; such as what he says of Nestor, whom he calls *triseclisenex*, and *dulcioreloquus*. The swelling and vast waves he calls *multigrumis*, and of streams congealed by frost, he says they are *tegmine onychino*. Many instances also there are, wherein he has used paraphrastic expressions; as for instance, where he calls his calumniators *subducti supercilii captores*.

CHAP. VIII.

An enquiry whether the words ARENA, CÆLUM, triticum, are ever used in the plural number; and whether quadrigis inimicitiiis, and other words beside, are ever found in the singular number.

WHEN I was a youth at Rome, before I went to Athens, when I was free from masters and lectures, I often visited Fronto Cornelius, and enjoyed the advantage of his conversation, which was distinguished by its purity, and replete with excellent information. It invariably happened, that as often as I saw him, and heard his conversation, I came away better instructed and improved: as for instance, when on a certain day he made some slight remarks on a trivial subject, but one not entirely unconnected with the study of the Latin language. When a certain friend of his, a man of learning, and a distinguished poet, said, that he had been cured of the dropsy by the application of "*calentes arenae*;" Fronto, playing upon the word, replied, "The disease indeed you are free from, but you are troubled with the complaint of vicious speaking; for Caius Cæsar, the perpetual dictator, the son-

in-

in-law of Cnæus Pompey, from whom is derived the family and the name of the Cæsars, a man of excellent talents, and distinguished beyond all others for his purity of style, in those books ‘De Analogia,’ addressed to Marcus Cicero, has advanced that the usage of *arenas* is a corruption: for that *arena* is no more a noun of multitude than *cælum* or *triticum*. On the other hand, the word *quadrigas*, although it be one carriage, is yet a body of four horses yoked together; and he thinks ought always to be used in the plural number, as the words *arma*, and *mœnia*, and *comitia*, and *inimicitias*. And now, my dear poet, have you any defence to set up, which may prove that what you have said is not corrupt?” — “As to the word *cælum*, replied the other, and *triticum*, I do not deny that it should always be used in the singular number; nor are *arma*, and *mœnia*, and *comitia*, to be considered otherwise than always as nouns of multitude. I shall consider however about *inimicitia* and *quadrigæ*, whether I shall give way to the authority of the ancients concerning them: with respect to *quadrigæ*, probably I may; but why should not Cæsar suppose that *inimicitiam*, like *inscientiam*, and *impotentiam*, and *injuriam*, were used by the ancients, and may be used by us? for Plautus, the ornament of the Latin language, has used *deliciam* in the singular number for *delicias*. He says, *mea voluptas*,
mea

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mea delicia; and Ennius, in that famous book of his:

Eo ingenio natus sum, amicitiam:

Atque inimicitiam in fronte¹ promptam gero."

—But who, I beseech you, has written or said that *arenas* is bad Latin? And I beg, that if Cæsar's book be in your possession, you would order it to be brought, that we may observe with what confidence he says this. The first book *De Analogia* being then produced, I committed to my memory from it these words: having remarked that neither *cælum*, nor *triticum*, nor *arenam*, could be used in the plural number. "And do you think (he adds) it happens from the nature of these things, that we say *unam terram*, and *plures terras*, and *urbem*, *urbes*, *imperium*, *imperia*? Nor can we convert *quadrigæ* into a singular, nor *arena* into a plural noun."—After reading these words, Fronto said to the poet, "Are you satisfied that Cæsar has decided upon this word plainly and directly enough?" The poet,

¹ *In fronte.*]—A similar expression occurs in Apuleius: "More hoc et instituto magistrorum meorum. Qui aiunt hominem liberum et magnificum debere in primori fronte animum gestare."

Thus also we say in English, he carries his honest meaning on his brow. The idea is beautifully expressed in *Romeo and Juliet*:

He was not born to shame:

Upon his brow shame is ashamed to sit,

For 'tis a throne where honour may be crown'd

Sole monarch of the universal earth.

struck

struck with the authority of the book, "If (said he) there were any appeal from Cæsar, I should be inclined to appeal in the present case; but since he has omitted to assign the reason for what he has said, I beg of you now to tell us, what objection you think there is to saying *quadriga* and *arena*?" Fronto replied, "*Quadrigæ* is confined to the plural number, even though there be not more horses yoked than one; for it is derived from the yoking of four horses, *quasi quadrijugæ*. And certainly, when you speak of so many horses, you ought not to comprize them in the singular number. The same rule is to be observed with regard to *arena*, though a different kind of word: for as *arena* in the singular, means a multitude, an abundance of small particles which compose it, *arenæ* is improperly and ignorantly used, as if that word required amplification, which is never to be used in the plural number. But (says he) I do not propose this opinion as if I were the author² and prompter of it, but that I might

² *The author.*]—Fundus in the original. See on this word Turneb. *Adversar.* iv. 12. and Plautus in the *Trinum*: v. 1. 6.

Nunc mihi is propere conveniendus est—ut quæ cum
ejus filio

Egi, ei rei *fundus* pater sit potior.

Which passage Thornton thus translates:

'Tis proper I should meet him with all speed,
That so the compact 'twixt his son and me
May, by the father's *sanction*, be confirm'd.

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not leave that of Cæsar, so learned as he is, without support; for though *cælum* is always used singularly, that is not the case with *mare* and *terra*, *pulvis*, *ventus*, and *fumus*. And why do old authors sometimes use *inducias* and *ceremonias* in the singular number, but never *ferias*, *nundinas*, *inferias*, and *exequias*? Why has *mel*, *vinum*, and words of that sort, a plural, whilst *lac* has not? These things cannot be examined and thoroughly investigated by men of business, in so populous a city; nay, I see you are fatigued with what I have already said, anxious I suppose to complete some other business. Go then, and enquire at your leisure, whether any old orator, provided he be of classical authority, or any poet, or in short any writer of eminence, has used *quadriga* and *arenas*."—Fronto advised us to search for these words, not, I suppose, because he thought they were to be met with in old books, but that he might excite in us a spirit of reading, by the pursuit after uncommon words. What appeared therefore most extraordinary was, that we found *quadriga* in the singular number in that Satire of Varro, called Exdemetrius: but as to *arenas* in the plural, we looked for this with less zeal, because, except Caius Cæsar, no learned man (as I indeed remember) has used it.

CHAP. IX.

The elegant retort of Antonius Julianus to some Greeks at an entertainment¹.

A Young Asiatic of equestrian rank, of a promising disposition, polished manners, a good fortune, with a turn and taste for music, gave an entertainment to his friends and tutors, in celebration of his birth-day, in the country. There came with us on this occasion Antonius Julianus, the rhetorician, a public teacher of youth, a Spaniard by birth and in his accent, but a man of eloquence, and well acquainted with ancient history and ancient learning. When we had finished eating and drinking, and the time for conversation was come, he desired that the singing men² and women might enter, whom he knew

¹ We learn from this chapter that it was customary among the ancients, both in Greece and at Rome, to celebrate birth-days with mirth and festivity. Indeed the writings of the poets of both nations abound with so many allusions to this circumstance, that it is as unnecessary to specify, as it would be endless to enumerate them.

² *Singing men.*—That the ancients had these among their other slaves, may be understood from various passages in Horace, as well as in other writers :

Ille virentis et
Doctæ psallere Chiræ,
Pulchris excubat in genis.

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knew his pupil had provided, and of the best talents. Afterwards, when the boys and girls made their appearance, they sung in a pleasant manner some odes of Anacreon, some of Sappho, and some love-songs, which were very sweet and beautiful; but we were particularly pleased with some beautiful lines of the old Anacreon, which I have subjoined, in order that this my troublesome and restless undertaking might find some relief in the sweetness of poetical compositions:

I summon, Vulcan, all thine art,
Not to forge the sword or dart;
For what are swords or darts to me,
Or what the mailed panoply?
No; make me so immense a bowl,
That in it waves of wine may roll.
I'll have no stars, or wains, or signs,
But round it carve me clust'ring vines.
Boötes hath no charms to please,
Nor care I for the Pleiades.
Let blushing grapes, in mimic pride,
Cling round the massy goblet's side;
The god of wine let Cupid meet
All'golden—and the work's complete.

See Pignorius de Servis.—Prudentius has this passage:

Num propter lyricæ modulamina vana puellæ,
Nervorumque sonos, & convivale calentis
Carmen nequitiae, patulas deus addidit auras.

Many of the Greeks then who were at the entertainment, being men of pleasantry, and not ill read in our language, began to provoke and attack Julianus the rhetorician, as a foreigner, a rustic, and one who, being born in Spain, was a mere declaimer, and of a violent and rude enunciation, and who taught the rudiments of a tongue which produced neither pleasure, elegance, nor poetry. They often asked him, what his opinion was of Anacreon, and other poets of that stamp? and which of our poets had written such good verses? "Unless indeed," said they, "Catullus³ perhaps a few, and Calvus a few; for Nævius was obscure, Hortensius inelegant⁴, Cinna spiritless, Memmius harsh, and in short all of them unpolished and inharmonious." He then, indignant in the cause of the language of his country, contending as it were *pro aris & focis*, replied, "We ought indeed to allow that you excel us in the

³ *Catullus.*]—Catullus has always been considered as the most successful imitator of the delicacy of the Greek lyric writers. The twenty-fourth poem of this poet may be considered as a very happy imitation of Anacreon.

⁴ *Hortensius inelegant.*]—Ovid, in his book *De Tristibus*, gives us a catalogue of those Latin poets who had composed amorous verses with impunity. Among them he enumerates Hortensius:

Is quoque Phasiacas Argò qui duxit in undas
Non potuit Veneris, furta tacere suæ,
Nec minus Hortensi, nec sunt minus improba Servi
Carmina. Quis dubitet nomina tanta sequi?

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more foolish and contemptible arts, as in the articles of luxury, in dress, and in cookery, so you are our superiors in many poetical elegancies; but, lest you should condemn *us*, that is the Latin language, as barbarous and incapable of any beauty, permit me," said he, "to hide my face (as they say Socrates did, when he delivered some less delicate remark) and then hear and know that some of our ancestors, older than the men you name, wrote love-songs, and verses in honour of Venus. Then leaning back, with his head covered, and with a very sweet voice, he sung some strains of Valerius Æditiuus, an old poet:—

Ah! when my passion I would fain declare,
My lab'ring tongue is clogg'd, I lose my breath;
Mute then, th' unbidden sigh, the starting tear
I drop; and patience proves a double death.

He also added some other lines, not less beautiful than the foregoing:—

Put out the torch; we need no other light,
Within whose hearts love's flames are ever
bright:
Those flames which can alike defy the pow'r
Of desolating wind, or headlong shower:
Those flames which still shall unextinguish'd
blaze,
Which Venus only can allay, or raise,

He

OF AULUS GELLIUS. 391

He also recited some verses of Portius Lici-
nius:—

Ye gentle shepherds, who it seems require
Among your fleecy care the seeds of fire,
Hither repair—here turn your eager eyes,
All that you want this blooming youth supplies.
Touch but a nerve^s, and sparks shall spread
around,
Herds rage with heat, and woods in flames be
found.

^s *Touch but a nerve.*]—I am very sensible that I have by no means adequately rendered these lines in English verse; and indeed, as in general they have allusions by no means the most delicate, I doubted whether I should not leave them untranslated. What I have rendered “Touch but,” &c. is in the original, “*Sidigito attigero.*” The classical reader does not require to be informed that *rem digito attigere*, was a popular phrase for touching any thing as gently as possible; or, as Shakspeare has more effectually explained what I would mean, when he says,

Take but possession of her with a touch.

I cannot omit mentioning the very delicate but emphatical use which our poet has made of the word *touch* in *Lear*, whom he makes to say, when afflicted with blindness,

Might I but live to see thee in my touch,
I'd say I'd eyes again.

Touch has sometimes the meaning of blight.—As again in the same play:

Touch her young limbs, ye killing airs, with lameness.

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He then added these from Quintus Catullus:—

My soul⁶, my parting soul is gone,
It rests with Corydon alone :
Yes, it is there, I know too well,
With Corydon it loves to dwell.
What if I tenderly entreat
The wanderer there may find no feat ;
What, if I ask the charming swai
To send th' intruder back again ;

* *My soul, &c.*]—An idea not unlike this occurs in the modern Latin verses of Marullus :

Suaviolum invitæ rapio dum casta Neæræ
Imprudens vestris liqui animam in labiis,
Exanimusque diu, cùm nec per se ipsa rediret,
Et mora lethalis quantulacumque foret,
Misi cor quæsitum animam, sed cor quoque blandis,
Captum oculis, nunquam deinde mihi rediit.
Quòd nisi suaviolo, flammam quoque casta Neæra
Haussissem, quæ me sustinet exanimum,
Ille dies misero mihi crede supremus amanti
Luxisset, rapui cùm tibi suaviolum,

Which may be thus translated :

Once from the struggling fair a kiss I stole,
But on her lips, ill-fated, left my soul.
Anxious I waited its return again,
In all the anguish of protracted pain.
To seek its friend, I sent my trembling heart ;
But that too felt her eye's all conqu'ring dart.
Had not her lips some vital heat bestow'd,
Which thro' my languid frame reviving glow'd,
That, without doubt, my latest hour had prov'd,
In which I kiss'd the lips of her I lov'd.

Shall

Shall I, too sensible and weak,
Go to his heart my own to seek?
Alas, alas! I know 'tis true,
That I should be detain'd there too;
O Venus, counsel give, and aid,
To a distress'd and hapless maid.

CHAP. X.

*That the vulgar usage of præter propter was
adopted by Ennius.*

I Remember formerly, that with Celsinus Julianus, I went to see Fronto Cornelius, who had a complaint in his feet. When we were introduced, we found him lying upon a Greek symposium¹, and surrounded with many men distinguished by their learning, rank, and fortune. Some architects, who were employed in constructing baths, were standing round, and exhibiting different plans of baths upon little scrolls. Out

¹ *Greek symposium,*]—in the original is *sumpodio Græcienfi*. The word *Græcienfi* is of uncommon occurrence. I meet with it however in Apuleius, who says *Renuntiat sermone rituque Græcienfi*.

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of these, when he had selected one, and enquired what would be the sum total requisite to complete it, the architect said, three hundred thousand sesterces; one of Fronto's friends said, "You may add fifty thousand more (*præter propter*.)" Fronto then, quitting the conversation which he had begun about the baths, and looking toward the person who had said fifty thousand more (*præter propter*), asked him what he meant by *præter propter*. That friend of his cries, "This is no word of mine; you hear people perpetually using it: as to its meaning, you must not ask me, but that grammarian,"—pointing to one who was present, of some note as a teacher of grammar at Rome. The grammarian, then, struck with the obscurity of a common vulgar word, "This phrase," says he, "is unworthy our discussion, for I know not how, but it is too plebeian, too much hacknied in the mouths of mechanics, to be worth explaining." But Fronto, raising his voice, and looking rather earnestly, "And does this word then," says he, "appear to you, a teacher of grammar, vulgar and censurable, which Marcus Cato, and Marcus Varro, and a whole age of our ancestors, have used as proper and legitimate?" Julius Celsinus then reminded us, that the word concerning which we were enquiring, and which was rather abused than explained by the grammarians, occurred in Ennius's tragedy of Iphigenia. He then desired the

Iphigenia to be brought, and in a chorus of that play we found these lines :

Imus huc, hinc illuc, cum illuc ventum est,
ire illuc lubet

Incertè errat animus: *præter propter* vitam
vivitur.

After this passage was read, Fronto immediately turning to the confused grammarian, " And do you hear," said he, " my good master, that your friend Ennius has used *præter propter*, and in a sentiment as solemn as the most dignified reproof of philosophers? We beg then (since we are now examining a word professedly adopted by Ennius) what is the meaning of that passage,

Incertè errat animus, *præter propter* vitam
vivitur?

The grammarian then, sweating and looking red, as most who were present laughed a good deal, rises from the table, and taking his leave, said to Fronto, " I will explain this matter some day when we are alone, and out of the hearing of rude and ignorant people;"—so we all rose up together, and left the discussion of the word precisely at this point.

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CHAP. XI.

Some love-verses of Plato, written when he was quite a youth, and contended for the prize in tragedy'.

THERE are two Greek verses much celebrated, and thought worthy of being remembered by learned men, because they are remarkable for their elegance and conciseness: and many

? The verses quoted in the preceding chapter, bear also some resemblance to these here imputed to Plato. But the ancient poets, Greek as well as Latin, abound with similar allusions. See for example Theocritus, Lucretius, book iv. at the conclusion.—Manilius, book v.—Consult also Barthius, p. 862.

These lines of Plato were said to be written to Agathon. They are mentioned in Diogenes Laertius; in the Latin editions of which they are thus translated:

Suavia dans Agathon animam ipse in labra tenebam,
Ægra etenim properans tanquam abitura fuit.

The Latin verses at the end of this chapter are thus translated in Bayle's Dictionary. Ed. Lond. 1734.

Whilst on thy lips to taste the bliss
I print the burning amorous kiss,
And drink thy balmy breath, my soul,
Thro' love impatient of controul,
Mounts to my lips in extacy,
And fain would pass to dwell in thee.

many old writers have attributed them to Plato, who is said to have written them when very young, at the same time when he was attempting to write tragedies :

Who stole my heart I knew, as soon as kiss'd;
I felt it leave me, when the thief I kiss'd.

A friend of mine, an accomplished young man, has paraphrased these lines with some freedom ².

If then, dear youth, we should delay,
And in the kiss prolong our stay,
The wanton thing would take her flight,
Struck with love's fire, and leave me quite :
And strange would my condition be,
Dead in myself, but quite alive in thee.

² *Freedom.*]—This chapter may be thought to end abruptly; but I did not think proper to insert the paraphrase. They are thus imitated by Bonifonius a modern Latin poet :

Donec propius incubo labellis,
Et diduco avidus tuæ puella
Flosculos animæ suave olentes,
Unus tum videor mihi deorum,
Seu quid altius est beatiusque.
Mox ut te eripis, ecce ego repente,
Unus qui superum mihi videbar,
Seu quid altius est beatiusque
Orci mi, videor relatus umbris
Seu quid inferius tristiusve.

CHAP. XII.

Dissertation of Herodes Atticus, on the power and nature of grief; his opinion illustrated by the example of an ignorant rustic, who cut down fruit-trees together with thorns¹.

I HEARD Herodes Atticus, a man of consular dignity, speaking at Athens in Greek, in which he far excelled every one within my memory in solemnity, copiousness, and elegance of diction. He spoke against the apathy of the stoics, having been attacked by a stoic, for not supporting the death of a son whom he loved, with wisdom and fortitude. As far as I recollect, the tendency of what he said was this, "That no man who felt and thought naturally, could so entirely divest himself of those affections of the mind (which he called *πάθη*) namely sorrow, desire, fear, anger, joy, as to be wholly insensible of them, and not in some degree suffer grief; and

¹ This is a very entertaining chapter, and yet contains much solidity of remark; and perhaps a more satisfactory reply to that affected insensibility, the excess of which was the pride of the stoic doctrines, cannot easily be found. The reply of Herodes Atticus will be found to contain the fundamental principles of the Peripatetic sect, founded by Aristotle.

if even he could so strive against them as to annihilate them, it would be no advantage, for the mind would languish and become torpid, when deprived of those necessary stimulatives which are found in the influence of the affections. "For," said he, "those senses and impulses of the mind, which when unrestrained become vices, are yet united and bound together with the powers and energies of the mind: if, therefore, we should ignorantly pluck them out all together, we may happen to destroy the good and useful tendencies of the mind together with the rest." He was of opinion, therefore, that they were to be regulated and purified by skill and deliberation, in order that those qualities which appear injurious and unnatural, and which have sprung up to the injury of the mind, may be separated; lest perchance that should happen which once did (as the story goes) to a Thracian rustic, in the cultivation of a farm which he had bought. "This fellow (said he) coming from a barbarous country, unused to agriculture, after he had migrated into a cultivated region, in order to enjoy more civilized life, bought a farm planted with olives and vines: as he knew nothing about vineyards or plantations, and happened to see a neighbour cutting down thorns, which had spread themselves high and wide, trimming his ash-trees at the top, plucking up the suckers of his vines, and am-

putating

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putating the spreading shoots from the fruit-trees and the olives; he approached him, and enquired why he made such havock among his wood and leaves. His neighbour replied, that the land might be clean, and the vineyard more productive. He went away then, thanking him, and rejoiced at his acquisition of agricultural knowledge: taking up his pruning-hook and his hatchet, he immediately, like a simpleton, falls to trimming his vines and his olives, lops off the strongest branches of the trees, and the most flourishing shoots of his vines, and roots up, in order to purify his ground from thorns, the fruit-trees, the shrubs, and every thing that bore corn or fruit, together with the briars. He had dearly bought self-sufficiency, and by injudicious imitation, had learned confidently to plunge into error. So," adds he, "these preachers of apathy, who wish to appear at ease, undaunted and immoveable, while they wish for nothing, are grieved at nothing, angry at nothing, and rejoiced at nothing; cutting off all the more powerful energies of the mind, grow old in dragging on a life without exertion, and without capacity for action."

CHAP. XIII.

*That the Greeks call those vavvs, whom we call
PUMILIONES, dwarfs.*

IT happened that Fronto Cornelius, Festus Posthumius^{*}, and Apollinaris Sulpitius, were engaged in conversation in the vestibule of the palace; I was standing with some others, who paid great attention to their discourse upon literary subjects; then said Fronto to Apollinaris, "Inform me, Sir, I intreat you, whether it is with propriety that I omitted to call men of very low stature *nanos*, and preferred calling them *pumiliones*. I remember to have seen this word applied to them in old books; but I thought *nanos* a vulgar and a barbarous word." "It is true (replied Apol-

^{*} *Festus Posthumius.*]—It is by no means clear what Festus is here intended. Barthius seems to think, p. 53, that this is the same with the Julius Festus mentioned by Macrobius, Satur. iii. c. 8.

We learn from this, as well as other places in ancient writers, that it was customary for the learned men and philosophers to meet and converse on subjects of science, under vestibules and porticos. Barthius is at some pains to explain the fragment of Cinna preserved in this chapter; he tells us that in some manuscripts it is written, not *bigis*, but *binis nanis*.

linaris) this word is frequently used by the vulgar, but it is not a barbarous word, and has a Greek origin; for the Greeks called those men *νανος* who were of such low and diminutive stature that they scarce stood above the ground. They used this term from the etymology of the word, which agrees with its meaning; and if my memory fails me not, it is used in Aristophanes's comedy of the *Ακλῶης*; but this word would be naturalized by you, and planted in a Latin colony, if you will condescend to use it; and indeed it would be much more worthy of approbation than many introduced by Laberius into the Latin language, which are very low and inelegant." Then Festus Posthumius, turning to a Latin grammarian, a friend of Fronto Apollinaris, says, "He has told us that *nanos* is a Greek word; do you now inform us whether it be Latin, and in what author it is found?" The grammarian, a man well versed in ancient literature, thus replied: "If it be no sacrilege (said he) to speak my opinion, whether any word be Greek or Latin, in the presence of Apollinaris, I dare assure you Festus, since you ask me, that this is a Latin word, and is to be found in the poems of Helvius Cinna, no vulgar or unlearned poet." He then cited the verses, which, as I chance to remember, I have added:

" At nunc me Geniana per salicta
Bigis rheda rapit citata *nanis*."

CHAP. XIV.

Marcus Varro and Publius Nigidius, the most learned Romans of their age, were cotemporaries with Cæsar and Cicero. The treatises of Nigidius did not become popular, on account of their obscurity and subtlety¹.

THE age of Marcus Cicero and Caius Cæsar had few men of distinguished eloquence; but with respect to various learning, and the different sciences which adorn humanity, it boasted of the two columns of genius, Marcus Varro and Publius Nigidius. The records of knowledge and learning which Varro left, are in every one's hands; but Nigidius's treatises are not in common use, being neglected from their obscurity and subtlety; as those passages which I read in what he terms grammatical commentaries: from these I have made some extracts, by

¹ It seems odd to say that there were few eloquent men in the time of Cicero, for there were a great many. I am therefore inclined to think with the elder Gronovius, that there is an error in the text, and that for viros paucos, we should read viros non, or viros haud paucos.

The talents and learning of Varro and Nigidius have been in numberless places, as the reader will remember, the subject of our author's praise.

way of example of his style. In his dissertation upon the nature and order of those letters which the grammarians call vowels, he has these words, which I leave unexplained for the sake of exercising the minds of my readers. “*A* and *O* always lead, *I* and *U* always follow, *E* both leads and follows: in *Euripo* it leads, in *Æmilio* it follows. If any one supposes that *U* leads in *Valerius*, *Vemmonias*, *Volusius*, or that *I* leads in *jampridem*, *jecur*, *jocum*, *jucundum*, he will be mistaken, because these letters when they lead are not vowels.” In the same book also is this passage: “Between the letters *N* and *G*, another power is introduced, as in the words *anguis*, and *angaria*, *anchora*, *increpat*, *incurrit*, and *ingenuus*: in all these words not the true but an adulterate *N* is used; for the motion of the tongue proves it not to be the true *N*; if it were that letter, the tongue would touch the roof of the mouth.” In another place he says, “I do not so much accuse the Greeks of ignorance for writing *z* from *o* and *y*, as for writing *z* from *e* and *i*. The former they did from poverty, the latter they were not compelled to by any cause.”

B O O K XX.

C H A P. I.

Argument between Sextus Cæcilius the lawyer, and Favorinus the philosopher, upon the laws of the Twelve Tables¹.

SEXTUS CÆCILIVS was eminent for his knowledge, experience, and authority in every thing which concerned legal discipline and skillful

¹ A dissertation on the subject of the TWELVE TABLES of the Roman laws, might be easily protracted to an infinite length; they have exercised the judgments and employed the pens of the ablest writers on morals, politics, and legislation; it may perhaps be sufficient for the English reader's purpose to be briefly informed of the more material circumstances concerning them.

The foundation of the laws of the Twelve Tables may be traced to the laws of Solon. In the year of the city 299, the senate decreed that three ambassadors should be sent to Athens, not only to copy Solon's laws, but generally to examine into the constitutions of the different states of Greece. In consequence of this measure, ten men, called the decem-

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ful interpretation of the Romans laws. It happened, as we went to salute Cæsar, the philosopher

viri, were appointed to select, from these and other similar institutions, a body of laws for the Roman people.

The decemviri enacted laws which were at first inscribed on ten tables; two were afterwards added, and notwithstanding that these laws were subsequently altered, and became in time obsolete, certain it is that the principles which they inculcated ever remained, and were considered as the fundamental basis of the Roman law, through the whole extent of that mighty empire; every noble youth got them by heart; every individual, whose object was distinction in the study and pursuit of Roman jurisprudence, considered them as the necessary commencement of his labours.

They were inscribed on brass, and suspended to the public view. Some however assert, that they were engraved on wood, and others on ivory; but as Gibbon judiciously remarks, wood, brass, and ivory might be successively employed.

The fragments of these tables may be found collected in a great variety of authors, of whom see a catalogue in Heineccius, *Ant. Rom. Juris*. p. 6. The book which I have examined on this subject, is that of Step. Vin. Pighius.

This note may properly enough be concluded with the following extract from Gibbon:

“ Whatever might be the origin or the merit of the Twelve Tables, they obtained among the Romans that blind and partial reverence which the lawyers of every country delight to bestow on their municipal institutions. The study is recommended by Cicero as equally pleasant and instructive: ‘ They amuse the mind by the remembrance of old words and the portrait of ancient manners; they inculcate the soundest principles of government and morals; and, I am not afraid to affirm, that the brief composition of the decemvirs surpasses in genuine value the libraries of Grecian

pher Favorinus approached him in the area of the palace, and conversed with him whilst I and

Grecian philosophy. How admirable,' says Tully, with honest or affected prejudice, 'is the wisdom of our ancestors. We alone are the masters of civil prudence, and our superiority is the more conspicuous, if we deign to cast our eyes on the rude and almost ridiculous jurisprudence of Dracon, of Solon, and of Lycurgus.' The twelve tables were committed to the memory of the young and the meditation of the old; they were transcribed and illustrated with learned diligence; they had escaped the flames of the Gauls; they subsisted in the age of Justinian; and their subsequent loss has been imperfectly restored by the labours of modern critics. But although these venerable monuments were considered as the rule of right and the fountain of justice, they were overwhelmed by the weight and variety of new laws, which, at the end of five centuries, became a grievance more intolerable than the vices of the city. Three thousand brass plates, the acts of the senate and people, were deposited in the capitol, and some of the acts, as the Julian law against extortion, surpassed the number of an hundred chapters.

"The decemvirs had neglected to import the sanction of Zaleucus, which so long maintained the integrity of his republic. A Locrian, who proposed any new law, stood forth in the assembly of the people with a cord round his neck, and if the law was rejected, the innovator was instantly strangled." Decline and Fall, &c. v. viii. p. 9.

It may not be improper to add, that to the fragments of these Twelve Tables appeal has always been made as to the oldest specimens of the Latin language. See Hor. Ep. l. 2.

i. 23.

Sic fautor veterum et tabulas peccare vetantes,
Quas bis quinque virum sanxerunt, fœdera regum,
Vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,
Pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum
Distitat Albano musas in monte locutas.

D d 4

many

many others were present. Mention was made on that occasion of the laws of the decemvirs, which ten men, chosen for that purpose by the people, composed, and wrote upon twelve tablets. These laws Sextus Cæcilius, who had inquired into and examined the laws of many cities, declared were drawn up with elegance and all possible conciseness. "This (replied Favorinus) may be the case in the greatest part of these laws, for I have read the Twelve Tables with no less avidity than I perused Plato's ten books on laws; yet some of them are thought very obscure, some trifling, some too harsh, others too lenient, or by no means, as they say, consistent." "As to their obscurities (says Sextus Cæcilius) we must not attribute them to the fault of the composers, but to the ignorance of inattentive copiers, although they too may be free from blame, who do not understand what is written; for length of time will obliterate the meaning of words and customs, by which words and customs the purport of the laws are to be comprehended, for these laws were framed and written in the three hundredth year after the building of Rome, from which time to this day not much less than seven hundred years have elapsed. What can be thought harsh in those laws, unless you think that law harsh which punishes with death, any judge or legal arbitrator convicted of taking a bribe? or which delivers any thief taken in the fact to the servitude of him

him upon whom the theft was committed? or which allows any one to kill a nightly robber? Tell me, I beg, you who are so anxious in the pursuit of wisdom, tell me, do not you think either of these crimes deserving of death; either the perfidy of the judge, exposing to sale his oath, contrary to all laws human and divine, the intolerable audacity of an open robber, or the treacherous violence of a nightly plunderer?"

"Do not (says Favorinus) enquire of me what I think, for you know, that according to the usage of my sect I rather examine than determine; but the judgment of the Roman people is not trifling or despicable, and they have thought these laws too severe against crimes which they yet allow should be punished; they have indeed suffered them, from their sanguinary tendency, to become obsolete, and die away with disuse and old age; they have also reprobated that law as too rigid, by which, if any person under an indictment is unable from disease or age to appear in court, no litter is allowed him, but he is taken up, put on horseback, and like a dead body as it were conveyed to the prætor's tribunal. When sick and unable to defend himself, why should he thus be given into the power of his adversary? I said also, there were some laws much too lenient; does not that appear so to you which is intended to punish common injuries? If any one have injured his neighbour, let
him

him be fined twenty-five pieces of brass? Who is there so poor that the penalty of twenty-five pence would deter him from injuring any one? which law your friend Labeo complained of in his book upon the Twelve Tables. Lucius Neratius, says he, was an infamous fellow, and of great brutality; he took delight in striking a free man in the face with the palm of his hand; a servant followed him with a purse of money, and whenever he struck a man, he ordered, according to the law, twenty-five pence to be counted out to him; for which reason, says he, the prætors thought proper to suffer this law to become obsolete, and appointed persons to redress cases of similar injury. Some also of these laws, I observed, appeared inconsistent, as that law of retaliation, the words of which, if my memory does not fail me, are these: 'If any one hath broken another's limb, unless satisfaction is made, retaliation shall be had.' Now, not to mention the cruelty of revenge, a just retaliation cannot take place; for suppose he whose limb is fractured insists on retaliation, how, I ask, can he contrive to break the limb of the other exactly in the same manner? In this occurs at first sight an inexplicable difficulty: if the other shall have broken his limb unintentionally, it ought to be retaliated unintentionally; for a chance blow and a premeditated one do not fall under the same predicament; for in the execution of this law,

law, how can any one imitate an undesigned action, when he has authority only to act undesignedly? but if the fact have been committed with design, the criminal will not suffer himself to be more deeply or severely wounded, and by what weight or measure this can be avoided I do not understand; moreover, if retaliation have taken place in a greater degree, or in any degree different, it will become an act of absurd cruelty, as an indictment may be brought on the other side for mutual retaliation, and a perpetual contention of this sort must arise. As to the cruelty of cutting and dividing the human body, if a debtor be brought to justice at the suit of many claimants, it disgusts me to think or to speak of it; for what can appear more savage, what more shocking to humanity, than that the limbs and joints of a poor debtor should be lacerated by a very short process of butchery, whereas now their goods are exposed to sale." Then Sextus Cæcilius, embracing Favorinus—"You are (says he) the only man within my knowledge, skilled with equal accuracy in the Grecian and Roman history; for what philosopher is so intimately and thoroughly acquainted with the principles of his own sect, as you have shewn yourself to be with the laws of our decemvirs; but I request you to depart a little from this lofty mode of disputation, and laying aside your zeal for argument, attentively consider what it is you have been censuring;

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furing; do not despise the antiquity of those laws, because the Romans have generally ceased to use them; for you cannot but know that the occasions upon which laws are framed, as remedies for the bad morals of the times, or to answer state exigencies, and for present advantage, are in perpetual effervescence, perpetually new modelled, and never permanent; nay, like the face of the sky, or the sea, they are ever varying with the seasons of human events and of fortune. What seemed more salutary than that law of Solon for determining the measurement of land? what more useful than the Voconian law for regulating the fortunes of women? what was thought so necessary for the purpose of checking the luxury of the citizens as the Licinian, the Fannian and other sumptuary laws? yet all these are obliterated and overwhelmed by the opulence of the state, as by the waves of a foaming sea; but how is it that which of all others is in my judgment a most humane law, should to you appear cruel, which provides a carriage for an old or a sick man, when called into court? The words of the law are these: 'If one call another to justice, and disease or age prevent his appearance, let the appellant provide him a beast; if he refuse to come, let him provide no litter;' but you, perhaps, think that by disease is here meant a grievous sickness with a violent fever and ague, and that a beast of burthen means any one animal capable

capable of carrying him, and therefore you suppose it cruel for a sick man, lying at home, to be dragged on the back of some beast to a court of justice; but this, my Favorinus, is by no means the case, for the disease alluded to by the law is not a fever, nor any other which justifies alarm, but rather some weakness or indisposition, and not any dangerous complaint; nay, these law-givers in another place speak of a complaint which carries with it a power of materially injuring the patient, not simply as a complaint, but a noxious disease; and the word *jumentum* (beast of burthen) does not bear merely the signification which we give it, but means any vehicle which was drawn by cattle yoked together. Our ancestors derived the word *a jungendo*. The litter (*arcera*) was a covered carriage inclosed on every side, like a large chest, supplied with blankets, in which very sick or old men were conveyed in a reclining posture. Where then appears the hardship, if a vehicle be allowed a poor man summoned into court, yet unable to appear from some circumstance either of helplessness or lameness, though he should not be allowed the delicacy of a litter, since the conveyance was sufficient for his purpose. They did this, that the excuse of sickness might not produce perpetual pretext for delay in people doubtful of their cause, and desirous to postpone their suits. Observe too, relative to the penalty of
twenty-

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twenty-five pence for injuries; they did not blot out all injuries for so trifling a sum; yet indeed was this small sum a great weight of brass; for the asses circulated at that time weighed a pound; but they punished heavier crimes, such as breaking a bone, not only of a free man, but of a slave, by a heavier penalty; but for some offences they put in force the law of retaliation, which law you, my friend, censured rather unjustly. You contended with some facetiousness, that it was inconsistent, since the revenge could not be on a par with the crime, nor (as you say) could one limb be broken exactly like another. It is true, my Favorinus, that circumstantial retaliation can very rarely take place, but the decemvirs wishing to check and extinguish any violent attempt to wound another, thought it might be restrained by terror. Nor if any one broke the limb of another, and was unwilling to buy off the law of retaliation, did they think such cognizance was to be taken of the matter, as to consider whether it was done willingly or otherwise; but they either inflicted punishment by retaliation exactly, or by an equivalent retaliation; but they rather wished that the same pain of mind should be excited, and the same force exercised in breaking the same part of the body, for it is the measure of satisfaction that is to be accomplished, and not the extent of the accident. Now if this matter be as I explain it, your arguments on the law of
retaliation

retaliation are rather ingenious than true; but since you think this kind of punishment cruel, what hardship, I beg, is there, if the same thing be inflicted on you, which you have inflicted on another, particularly when you have the power of compounding the matter, and need not suffer retaliation unless you choose it? What prætorian edict can be more laudable than this, in taking cognizance of injuries? You must also remember, that this law of retaliation is necessarily subject to the discretion of the judge, for if the accused person, unwilling to compound, refused to submit to the judge pronouncing sentence of retaliation, the judge, after weighing the circumstances of the case, fined him a sum of money; therefore, if the composition required was too hard, and the law too severe to the criminal, the severity of the law became reduced to a penalty of money. It remains now to speak of that which appeared most cruel to you, the incision and division of the body. By the practice and cultivation of every species of virtue, the Roman people, from a trifling origin, rose to a great eminence of power; they respected above all things integrity, and, whether public or private, held it sacred. With this spirit the nation gave up its consuls, the greatest men of the state, to the enemy, as hostages for the public faith. On this account they considered a client, professedly received under protection, as nearer than their relations,

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relations, and to be defended even against their own kindred ; nor was any offence deemed more heinous than for any one to have been proved guilty of defrauding a client. This degree of faith our ancestors sanctioned, not only in public offices, but in contracts between private men, and particularly in the borrowing and interchange of money, for they thought this temporary relief to poverty, which every situation of life sometimes wants, ruined, if the perfidy of debtors escaped without severe punishment ; when therefore the debt was acknowledged, thirty days were allowed for the purpose of collecting money to pay it, and those days the decemvirs called *justi*, as if a certain cessation of the law took place, during which time no legal suit could proceed against them. Afterwards, in failure of payment, they were summoned before the prætor, and accused by their prosecutors ; they were then put in fetters. These, I believe, are the words of the law : ‘ To persons (and their property) convicted of debt, let thirty days indulgence be granted ; afterwards lay hands on him, bring him to justice, unless he give satisfaction ; or if any one make resistance, bind him and bring him in a halter, or in chains, of neither more nor less weight than fifteen pounds ; if he choose, let him maintain himself, if not, let the person who binds him, give as many pounds of corn a day as he chooses to have.’ In the mean time a power was granted
of

of compounding, and if they did not agree, criminals were confined sixty days, in the course of which time they were brought before the prætor on three succeeding court days, and the amount of their debt was declared; on the third court, they were capitally condemned, or sent beyond the Tyber to be sold; but they rendered this punishment of death terrible by its shew of horror, and loaded it with new terrors, for the sake, as I said, of rendering credit sacred; for if there were more than one accuser, the laws permitted them to cut and divide the convict's body. And lest you should think that I fear the odium of the law being insisted on, I will repeat its words: 'On the third court day, let them cut it into parts; if they have cut more or less, let the division be without fraud.' Nothing indeed can be more savage or cruel than this appears to be; but a cruel punishment was decreed, that they might never be obliged to have recourse to it. We now see many people accused, and in fetters, because profligate men despise the punishment. I have never read or heard of any man being dissected according to the ancient law, whose severity was not to be slighted. Do you think, Favorinus, if that punishment decreed by the Twelve Tables against false witnesses had not become obsolete, and that now, as formerly, any one convicted of perjury was thrown from the Tarpeian rock, we should see so many as we do

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guilty of the crime? The severity of a just punishment is frequently the cause of a cautious and proper mode of life. The story of the Alban, Metius Sufetius, I, who read few books of history, well remember. He had perfidiously broken a treaty made with the king of the Romans, and was torn to pieces by two horses, to which he was bound, dragging different ways. This, no one denies, was an unheard of and cruel punishment; but observe the remark of the most elegant of poets:

Thy word is sacred, Alban, keep it ever."

When Sextus Cæcilius had thus discoursed, with the approbation and applause of Favorinus, and of all present, it was said that Cæsar made his appearance, and we separated.

CHAP. II.

The meaning of (liticinem) a trumpeter, in Cato's oration.

THE word *liticines* occurs in the oration of Marcus Cato, entitled, "*Ne imperium sit veteri, ubi novus venerit.*" He uses *liticines*, and *liticines*, and *tubicines*; but Cæsellius Vindex, in his

his Commentaries, says, he knows that the *liticines* play on the instrument called *lituus*, the *tubicines* on the *tuba*, but as to the *siticines*, he ingenuously acknowledges he does not know what their instrument is; but in the collection of remarks by Capito Atteus, I find those persons called *siticines*, who are accustomed to play on an instrument, *apud sitos*¹, that is among the dead and the buried, and that they had a particular kind of pipe.

* *Sitos.*]—Persons who were in any way buried, were properly said to be *siti*; they were not *sepulti* unless they had obtained the full rites of Roman sepulture, the body burnt, and the ashes collected. The Cornelian family at Rome persisted in the old custom of burying the body without burning till within the time of Cicero; hence, says that writer, Ennius properly applied the expression, *situs*, on the tomb of one of that family, Scipio Africanus. The first of the patrician Cornelii, says he, who had his body burnt, was Sylla. The epitaph of Scipio Africanus there alluded to, was this:

Heic est ille *situs*, quoniam nemo civi, neque hosti
Quibit pro factis reddere operæ pretium.

Here is he plac'd, to whom nor foe nor friend
Can give a praise his life did not transcend.

The words of Cicero are, "Declarat etenim Ennius de Africano, *heic est ille situs*. Vere nam *siti* dicuntur ii qui conditi sunt. Nec tamen eorum ante *sepulcrum* est quam iusta facta, et corpus incensum est." De Leg. iii. 22. He adds, that those merely buried were also said in early times to be *humati*, though the expression was afterwards extended to all who were *sepulti*.

CHAP. III.

Why L. Accius the poet, "in Pragmaticis," calls sicinnistas an obscure word.

WHAT common people call *sicinnistas*, they who are better informed call *sicinnistas*, with a double *n*. The *sicinnium*¹ was an ancient kind of dance. They who now stand still and sing, formerly danced when they sang. L. Accius has used this word "in Pragmaticis." They were called *sicinnistas*, says he, *nebulofo nomine*, an obscure word. He used the word *nebulofo*, I presume, because he did not comprehend the meaning of *sicinnium*.

¹ *Sicinnium*.]—*Sicinnis* was a species of dance used by the Greeks to accompany the satyric poetry. It is said by Athenæus to have been so named from its inventor *Sicinnus*, who, according to some authors, was a barbarian, according to others a Cretan.—Athen. 1. and 14. Silenus, in the prologue to the Cyclops of Euripides, the only satyric drama extant, says :

—μων κρότος Σικιννιδων

Ὅμοιος ὑμῖν νυν τε, χ' ὥτε βακχίῳ

Κωμοὶ συνασπίζεις Ἀλθαιᾶς δομῆς

Προσητ', αἰδαῖς βασιτῶν σαυλεμένοι;

—Do my Sicinnian sounds

As lively touch you now, as when you went

With Bacchus' train rejoicing, and with lyres

Striking gay numbers, to Althæa's house?

Some have endeavoured to derive *sicinnis* from *κίνησις*, but unhappily enough.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Attachment to players was dishonourable and reproachful. A passage from Aristotle upon that subject.

A Certain rich youth, a pupil of the philosopher Taurus, was attached to and delighted with the company of players¹ and musicians. The Greeks call these people “artificers of Bacchus.” Taurus desirous of drawing off this youth from

¹ *Players, &c.*]—Gerard Vossius, who is seldom incorrect in his accounts of the ancients, says, that actors were highly esteemed among the Greeks, but held in a very low light by the Romans. *Inst. Poet.* ii. 10. As a proof of the former assertion, he mentions that Æschines the orator was originally a player; but the instance is rather unfortunately chosen, since this very occupation is made a subject of reproach against him by his antagonist Demosthenes, in his oration for the crown, who more than once calls him, in contempt, *ω τριταγωνισα*, “You low actor;” and Suidas says expressly, *Αισχίνης εν πολλοις σκωπτεται υπο Δημοσθενους ως υποκριτης τραγωδιων*—“Æschines is often reviled by Demosthenes as having been a tragic actor.” With respect to the Romans, it is true that in the early times of the republic actors were despised; but Æsopus and Roscius were held in high honour, and were noticed and esteemed by the first men in Rome. These, however, it may be said, were only illustrious exceptions. The profession in itself was never held honourable in either country. The reasons given by Aris-

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from the company and intimacy of these players, pointed out to him a passage from Aristotle's *Universal Questions*, and desired him to study them daily. "Why are the artificers of Bacchus for the most part worthless people? Is it that they are little accustomed to the pursuit of wisdom and philosophy, and the greatest part of their life is consumed in the necessary occupation of their art, and much of their time is spent in intemperance and poverty, each of which is an incitement to wickedness?"

totle are very sound; and the same causes have continued in all ages and countries to produce the same effects; they who make themselves exceptions to this general rule are the more to be honoured, as they preserve their dignity of character in a situation very likely to undermine it.

One of the reproaches of Demosthenes to Æschines on his original profession is, "ανθρωπιον υδεν εξαρχης υγιες ποιηκος, υδ' ελευθερον αυτοτραγικος πιθηκος, αρεβραιος Οινωμαος." "A fellow that from the first never did any thing good or worthy of a free man; a mere tragic ape, a rustic Ænomaus," &c. cap. 71.—In chap. 79 and 80, he still more fully expatiates on this low origin of his rival, and comparing himself with him, says, "You danced; I furnished the entertainment—you were an actor; I a spectator—you were hissed off; I was among the hissers," &c. Many other farcasms on the same subject are thrown out in every part of that oration.

CHAP. V.

Specimens of letters which are said to have passed between king Alexander and the philosopher Aristotle¹.

THE philosopher Aristotle, the instructor of Alexander, is said to have had two kinds of lectures, which he delivered to his pupils, one of which he called exoteric, the other acroatic. Those were called exoteric which involved the study of rhetoric, logical subtleties, and a knowledge of politics; those were called acroatic,

¹ The subjects discussed in this chapter, and the anecdote with which it concludes, must be necessarily too familiar to every reader to justify my detaining them by any tedious note.

The distinction of Aristotle's lectures and followers, as here specified, was not the invention of that philosopher, but was probably borrowed from the Ægyptians, among whom there were public and secret doctrines, as well as among the Persian Magi and the Indian Brahmins.

Plutarch relates at length the anecdote here recorded in his history of Alexander, and it may also be found in Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers. The letters themselves have always been justly admired for their dignified simplicity.

Acroamatic discourses are those, says H. Stephens, which cannot from their depth be understood without hearing the speaker viva voce, and acroatic books are those which contain such discourses.

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which had concern with a more profound and recondite philosophy, and which related to the contemplation of natural objects and dialectic discussions. To the cultivation of this science which I have called the acroatic, he gave up the morning in the Lyceum; nor did he admit any person to this lecture till he had previously made examination concerning his talents, his elementary knowledge, and his zeal and industry in the pursuit of learning. The exoteric lectures he delivered in the same place, in the evening, to all young men that chose, without exception: this he called δειλιον περιπατον, the evening walk, the other ιωθιον, the morning walk; for he spoke on each of these occasions walking; and he so divided his books, containing remarks upon all these subjects, that part of them were called exoteric and part acroatic. These latter, as soon as king Alexander knew that he had published, although he at that time held almost all Asia under his arms, and was overpowering king Darius by his attacks and victories, yet amidst all these toils he wrote to Aristotle, complaining that he had done amiss in having made public those acroatic lectures, in which he had himself been instructed; "for (says he) in what other circumstance can I excel the rest of the world, if the things which I have learned from you be made common? for I would rather excel in learning than in power and wealth." Aristotle thus replied to him: "The acroatic books,
which

which you complain are made public, and not hidden as secrets, know that they are neither published nor hidden, since they will be intelligible only to those who have my exposition of them." But I have subjoined the specimens of their correspondence taken from a publication of Andronicus² the philosopher, and I cannot but much admire the fine texture of elegant brevity which distinguishes each epistle. "Alexander to Aristotle, health. You have not acted well in publishing your acroatic lectures; for wherein shall I hereafter excel, if the instructions which I have received from you be made common to all; for I would rather excel in the most honourable, than in the most powerful acquisitions. Farewel." "Aristotle to king Alexander, health. You have written to me concerning my acroatic lectures, thinking that they ought to be preserved and not communicated; know that they are communicated, but not made public; for they are in the possession only of those who hear me. Farewell." Studying how to express the phrase, *ἐν τοῖς γὰρ εἶσι* (for they are in the possession of) in one word, I have found no other mode than that adopted by Marcus Cato in the seventh of his Origines, where he says, "*Itaque ego cognobiliorum cognitionem esse arbitror.*"

² *Andronicus.*]—This Andronicus was called Andronicus the Rhodian; he was a Peripatetic philosopher, and wrote commentaries upon Aristotle.

CHAP. VI.

Enquiry whether HABEO CURAM VESTRI, OR HABEO CURAM VESTRUM, be most proper *.

I WAS asking Apollinaris Sulpitius, whom I attended when I was a young man at Rome, by what rule the following phrase was used, "*habeo curam vestri*," or "*misereor vestri*," for the case in which *vestri* is used appears to be the nominative. He replied, "What you now ask, has been with myself a perpetual subject of enquiry; for it seems that we ought to say not *vestri* but *vestrum*, as the Greeks do, ἐπιμελεσθαι ὑμῶν, and κηδομαι ὑμῶν, in which instance, ὑμῶν is more properly *vestrum* than *vestri*, which is the nominative case, or, as you call it, the *casus rectus*. However, I find in many instances, *nostri*

* These lines, from the *Cheat* of Plautus, occur in the beginning of act the first, and are thus rendered by Mr. Warner:

If from your silence, Sir, I could but learn
With what sad cares you pine thus wretchedly,
Gladly I'd save the troubling of two persons,
Myself in asking, you in answering.

With respect to the terminations *vestrum* and *vestri*, it is usual in all modern grammars to use them indifferently, and to say *vestrum* vel *vestri*.

and

and *vestri* used, and not *nostrum* and *vestrum*. Lucius Sylla, in his second book of Annals, says, “Quo si fieri potest ut etiam nunc *nostri* vobis in mentem veniat. Nosque magis dignos creditis quibus civibus quam hostibus utamini, qui- que pro vobis potius quam contra vos pugnemus, neque nostro neque majorum nostrorum merito nobis id continget.” Terence too in his Phormio :

“Ita plerique ingenio sumus, omnes *nostri* nosmet pœnitet.”

And Afranius in his Togata :

“Nescio quid *nostri* miseritus tandem Deus.”

And Laberius in his Necromantia :

Dum diutius detinetur, *nostri* oblitus est.

There is no doubt but each of these phrases, *nostri oblitus est*, and *nostri miseritus est*, is spoken in the same case as *mei miseritus est*, and *mei oblitus est*; but *mei* is the interrogative case, which the grammarians call the genitive, and is declined from *ego*, of which the plural is *nos*. *Tui* in the same manner comes from *tu*, and its plural is *vos*; for so Plautus has declined them in his Pseudulus, in the following lines :

Si ex te tacente fieri possem certior, here,
Quæ miseriæ te tam miserè macerent,
Duorum labori ego hominum parvissem lubens,
Mei te rogandi, & *tui* respondendi mihi.

Plautus

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Plautus here derives *mei* not from *meus*, but from *ego*, as if you should say, "*patrem mei*," for "*patrem meum*," as the Greeks use "*τον πατέρα μου*." By the same rule you may defend Plautus's usage of *labori mei*, for *labori meo*, which though not common, is perfectly proper. This rule applies to the plural number likewise, which Gracchus used, when he said, "*misereri vestrum*," and Marcus Cicero, "*contentio vestrum*," and "*contentio nostrum*;" according to which Quadrigarius, in the nineteenth of his Annals, has these words: "*C. Mari et quando te nostrum & reipublice miserabitur?*" Why then should Terence use, "*pœnitet nostri*," and not "*pœnitet nostrum*;" and Afranius, "*nostri miseretur*," instead of "*nostrum*?" I can conceive no reason for this, except the authority of antiquity, which paid little attention to accuracy of speaking; for thus oftentimes *vestrorum* has been made use of for *vestrum*, as in that line from Plautus's *Mustellaria*:

" Verum illuc esse maxima pars *vestrorum*
intelliget."

Where most people would say *vestrum*; so sometimes too *vestri* is called *vestrum*; but doubtless he who is desirous to speak with the most scrupulous propriety would say *vestrum* rather than *vestri*; most unseasonably therefore have they acted, who in many passages of Sallust have corrupted the purity of his composition; for
where

where Sallust wrote—" *Sæpe majores vestrum miserti plebis Romanæ,*" they have erased *vestrum*, and substituted *vestri*, which blunder has been now regularly admitted into various copies. I remember Apollinaris told me this, and I noted what he said at the time it was spoken.

C H A P. VII.

Different opinions of the Greeks on the number of Niobe's children¹.

THE variety of accounts to be met with among the Greek poets about the number of Niobe's children is really ridiculous; for Homer says she had twelve boys and girls, Euripides that she had fourteen, Sappho gives her eighteen, Bacchylides and Pindar twenty, whilst other writers affirm that she had but three.

¹ The names of the Greek poets mentioned in this chapter are sufficiently familiar, except perhaps that of Bacchylides. Of this personage Suidas gives the following account: he was a native of Cos, a relation of the lyric poet Simonides, and a writer of lyrics himself. He wrote verses in praise of Hiero, and some of his fragments have been preserved.

CHAP. VIII.

*Of things which appear to have a sympathy with
the rising and waning moon.*

ANNIANUS¹ the poet, in his Falisian farm, used to celebrate the time of the vintage with mirth and pleasure. At this season he invited me and some other friends; a large quantity of oysters² was sent for our supper from Rome:

¹ *Anianus.*]—This personage flourished in the time of Trajan: he is mentioned before, book vii. chap. 7.

² *Oysters.*]—The effect of the moon on objects animate and inanimate was in the ages of ignorance and superstition almost indefinite. It has been the province of philosophy, chastened and improved by experiment, to ascertain these influences, and to confine them within their proper limits.—“Thou knowest an oyster may be crossed in love,” says the poet; but that they decreased with the decreasing moon is, I should suppose, alike difficult of proof and of belief.

All that Gellius here says concerning the eyes of cats originates without doubt in what Plutarch observes of that animal in his tract of Isis and Osiris. What is intended by the commentary on Hesiod cannot so well be imagined. The expression of Plutarch in the above-mentioned tract is this:

“The true reason why the priests abominate and avoid onions is, that the onion is the only one of all plants which increases in bulk as the moon decreases.”

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Rome: when they were placed before us, and, though numerous, were poor and thin; "the moon (says Annianus) is now growing old, on which account oysters, like other things, are meagre and out of order." When we enquired what other things became poor as the moon decreased, "Do you not remember (says he) what Lucilius says?

*Luna alit ostrea, & implet echinos, muribus
fibras & pecu addit.*

Shell-fish and oysters with the moon increase;
And mice and cattle strengthen with her
growth."

The Celurus was certainly among the Ægyptian deities.
See Juvenal, 15. 7.

*Illic cœruleos, hic pisces fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.*

It is not possible to make any meaning of cœruleos. Brodæus proposes to read illic celuros.

See Herodotus, b. 2. where a whimsical account is given of the methods taken by the ancient Ægyptians to prevent the growth of cats. To these superstitions of the Ægyptians Milton thus alludes:

Often there appeared
A crew who under names of old renown,
Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,
With monstrous shapes and forceries abused
Fanatic Ægypt and her priests to seek
Their wandering gods disguised in brutish forms,
Rather than human, &c.

And

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And the same things which thrive with the increasing moon fall away as the moon decreases. The eyes of cats, according to these changes of the moon, become larger or smaller; but the most remarkable circumstance is what I read in Plutarch's fourth commentary upon Hesiod. The onion grows and buds as the moon decreases, but dries up while the month is young. This, according to the Ægyptian priests, is the reason why the Pelusiæ do not eat an onion; because that is the only herb which observes changes of diminution and increase opposite to the increase and waning of the moon.

CHAP. IX.

*A passage which pleased Antonius Julianus, from the
Mimiambi of Cnæus Mattius.*

ANTONIUS JULIANUS said his ears were gratified by the sound of some words introduced by Cnæus Mattius, a man of learning, such as the following, which he related from that author's "Mimiambics:"

"Sinuque amicam reficere¹ frigidam caldo
"Columbatim² labra conferens labris."

He

¹ *Reficere.*]—For *reficere*, as it cannot be admitted consistently with the metre, Vossius would read *reficit*. I would propose *refice*.

² *Columbulatim.*]—This is a very favourite image with the ancient Latin writers of amatory verses, as well as of the moderns who professed to imitate them.—See Martial:—

Amplexa collum basioque tam longo
Blandita quam sunt nuptia columbarum.

The *Basia* of Johannes Secundus abound with similar passages. The idea is however peculiar to the ancients, at least I do not remember to have seen it imitated either in French or English. The similes borrowed from the fondness of turtles, are of a very different kind. Where Shak-

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He thought likewise the following sentence elegantly formed :

“ Jam tonsiles tapetes ebrii fuco,

“ Quos concha purpura imbuens venenavit.”

And this also :

Dein coquenti vasa cuncta dejectat,

Nequamne sitamenta pipulo poscit.

Speare says, “ Like to a pair of loving turtle doves,” I am not certain whether the image of tenderness intended to be impressed, is not borrowed from the soft and melancholy tone remarkable in the notes of this bird.

CHAP. X.

*Meaning of the phrase, EX JURE MANUM CONSERTUM*¹.

THE phrase, "*ex jure manum consertum*," is taken from old pleadings; it was used in all law-suits, and is now introduced before the prætor. I was asking a grammarian of some note in Rome, what was the meaning of those words? He, looking at me with contempt, replied, "You either mistake me, or you are jesting; I am a grammarian, not a lawyer. If you want to know any thing of Virgil, Plautus or Ennius, you may enquire of me." "Well, Sir,"

¹ The literal meaning of *manum conferere*, is to fight hand to hand, and is taken from war. In the legal actions to which this chapter alludes, the contending parties are said to have crossed two rods before the prætor, as if emblematical of an engagement, and the party who was overcome resigned his rod to his adversary. According to the laws of the Twelve Tables, the presumption in controversies of this kind was always in favour of the possessor. The term *vindicia*, which occurs in the conclusion of the chapter, is also a law term, not very easily to be rendered in English, and about which indeed commentators are greatly at variance. *Vindicia* is by some interpreted to be the rod which the two parties broke in pieces in a feigned contest before the prætor. *Vindicias dare*, is to give possession of the matter in dispute. All these particulars are sufficiently illustrated by Adams, in his *Roman Antiquities*.

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said I, " the passage I enquire about comes from Ennius." He, wondering at a sentence so foreign from poetry, declared that it was nowhere found in Ennius; I however repeated these lines from the eighth book of his Annals; for it happened that I remembered the passage more particularly than any other lines :

Pellitum è medio sapientia, vi geritur res.
Spernitur orator bonus, horridus miles amatur.
Haud doctis dictis certantes sed maledictis,
Miscent inter sese inimicitias agitantes,
Non ex jure manum confertum, sed mage ferro
Rem repetunt, regnumque petunt, vadunt solidâ vi.

When I had repeated these lines from Ennius, " Now," said the grammarian, " I believe you, and would have you credit me when I say that Ennius learnt this not from his poetical studies, but from some lawyer; and you may have them explained from the same source whence Ennius learnt them." I took the advice of this master, when he recommended it to me to apply for that information from another, which he ought to have given me himself; and I have thought proper to insert in these commentaries, what I have learnt from lawyers and their books, because people who live in business, and in the world, ought not to be ignorant of the common terms which express a civil suit at law. *Manum conferere* is applied to the subject of dispute, whe-

ther an estate or any thing else, when the opponents each took hand. This ceremony of fixing the hand together on the spot where the subject of dispute was, which took place in the presence of the prætor, according to the laws of the Twelve Tables, whereon was written—"Si qui in jure manum conferunt;" if any fix the hand together according to law; but afterwards, when the boundaries of Italy were extended, the prætors being fully engaged in giving judgment and other business, were much troubled to superintend these causes where the subject of dispute was distant, and it was decreed by a bye-law, contrary to the Twelve Tables, that the litigants should no longer fix the hand together in the presence of the prætor, but that one should summon the other, according to law, to fix the hand together upon the subject in dispute. Visiting together the disputed land, each took up from it a portion of land, this they produced in the presence of the prætor, and plead for that clod as for the whole estate. Ennius, therefore, willing to express that here was no legal dispute before the prætor, but the real violence and efforts of war, compared this fixing of the hand, and innocent contest, which takes place betwixt the tongues and not the arms of men, with warlike and sanguinary violence.

CHAP. XI.

Meaning of the word SCULNA in Varro¹.

PUBLIUS LAVINIUS's book is not unworthy the attention of the curious; its title is, "De Verbis fordidis." that which is vulgarly called *sculna* (a mediator) says he, is as it were *seculna*, which people more attentive to elegance call *sequestris*. Each word is formed from *sequor*, because either part follows the faith of him who is chosen to preside over them. Publius Lavinius remarks, in the same publication, that the word *sculna* is used by Marcus Varro in that dissertation entitled "*Catus*." That which was left in custody of a mediator was expressed thus, with an adverb, *sequestro*, positive. Cato says of Ploterus against Thermus:

Per deos immortales, nolite vos *sequestro* ponere,

¹ The reader will receive material illustration on the subject of this chapter, by consulting the *Adversaria* of Barthius, p. 1270.

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N. B. *The Figures preceded by a small n, refer to the Notes at the bottom of the pages.*

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

V O L. I.

- Page 52. l. 1. *for seventeen, read seven.*
 106. l. 3, *for divinat, read divinit.*
 124. *Note, "severe law." Plutarch's word is παράλογωτάτον. This perhaps should rather have been rendered, most unreasonable and disproportionate.*
 133. *for propositions, read prepositions.*
 144. *Note. Manipli.—Here the scazon is defective in a syllable, to remedy which Turnebus proposes to read ite after manipili. Again, Æli is a false quantity, so Heyne timidly and doubtfully proposes to read "stilo." See his note.*
 146. *for αἰθαγιτης, read αἰθηγιτης.*
 155. *for iv, read ivi.*
 171. *for Dei, read Dii.*
 172. *for geste, read gesta.*
 188. *for Anictinum, in note, l. 3 from the bottom, read Arictinum.*
 189. *for Solinus ad Salmas, read Salmasius ad Solin.*
 225. *Note, for Halberotadt, read Halberstadt.*
 255. *Note, for adversarii, read adversaria.*
 256. *for reliquendo, read relinquendo.*
 300. *It may be added, that some derive persona from περί ζωνη, which is nearly as probable as any.*
 315. *for κλειο, read κλειω.*
 330. *for America, read Armenia.*

V O L. II.

Page 22. *for solutionis, read solutioris.*

The formation of these words ending in mentum, is from the supines, as thus—moni-tum, monu-men, mentum, with men inserted, and tum sometimes rejected, and sometimes prefixed.

Page 66. A very learned friend who has examined this question of the servi pileati very carefully, writes to me thus on the subject :

These slaves were not of a higher order ; they are distinguished from the bare headed, but not set above them.—The case was this :

If I exchanged a slave with the pileus, it told you the buyer, that I the seller was not responsible. In general, the pileati were new untried slaves, for whom the master could not answer ; and those for whom he did answer, or the non-pileati, were those he had long possessed, and often used.

78. There are extant many monkish verses of this sort.

85. There is a book on the Use of Gloves, by a John Nicolai, published in Germany, in 1701 ; and a great deal on this subject may be found in the Curiosities of Literature, published by D'Israeli.

103. What I have rendered to bear up boldly, is, on recollection, hardly forcible enough ; it rather means to be so disengaged from one thing, as to be wholly ready for another. Thus in Horace, semper vacuus ; and thus also, vacare philosophiæ, means to be intent on philosophy alone. This vacare adversum adversarios, may mean, " to be thoroughly prepared against his adversaries."

110. *for* availed but only, *read* availed only.

113. *for* χιον, *read* χιον.

127. *for* " nor I do," *read* " nor do I."

137. *for* incardescit, *read* incandescit.

144. Διάδοχος rather means succession to the conduct of public affairs.

150. *for* regi, *read* tegi.

160. *for* quænam, *read* quæram.

176. The word fabulosus should have been here explained ; it means a man much talked of.

180. Struck with grief is hardly forcible enough ; it means, with a mixture of grief and rage. Thus in Virgil, the expression of sævi doloris conveys a similar idea.

205. The expression of opicas occurs in Ausonius. See his Professores, 22.

Exefas tinea opicasque evolvere chartas.

Page 215. The orbis may be thus distinguished from globus the one was fixed and stationary, the other flying here and there.

229. for a body, read a dead body.

260. for fantoribus, read fautoribus.

270. for 5010, read 3015.

308. for becoming of, read becoming in.

310. for dicare, read dicam.

316. for goods sought, read goods were sought.

348. The story here related is quoted by Meursius, and occurs in lib. i. chap. 17. Ethicorum Maj. Aristot.

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Page 2. l. 3. note, for according, read contrary.

13. note, for Apia, read Chia.

35. Romæ stationibus.—See Horace, sat. iv. l. 1.

Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos.

On which the following Vet. Schol. is produced by Baxter:

Negat se libellos suos edere bibliopolis qui *stationes* vel armaria circa pilas vel columnas habebant, & in pilis epigrammata scribebant poetæ qui non tradebant bibliopolis.

Thus the stalls or shops of booksellers were, it seems, called *stations*, from whence the English word *stationers* is well derived.

84. for heri, read here.

167. for fariatur, read fari iatur. This emendation is proposed by Salmasius, and is certainly right.

173. for Pamphilas, read Pamphila.

194. for Julio, read Julius, and for Julii, read Julio.

230. for ferroque, read feroque.

262. for ἐφ' ὁδῶν; read ἐφ' ὁδῶν.

319. for Leuctria, read Leuctra.

342. The Romans distinguished between matrimonium and nuptiæ. A woman by use entered into matrimonium, and she was then matrona. The coemptio and confarreatio made way for her to become

come not only *matrona*, but *materfamilias*. The *coemptio* and *confarreatio* produced the *iustæ nuptiæ*; but in all three cases she was *matrona*.—As a woman without children was called *matrona*, from the hope of having them, so *vidua* was applied to an unmarried woman.

An te morantur virgines viduæ domi.

Occurs in the *Agamemnon* of Seneca.

Page 360. I am probably wrong in translating a *manuario* by "a waiter." I was misled by finding, book xvi. c. 7. that *Laberius* uses *manuarius* for a light-fingered thief. It was a term at play, and the *res* was that by which the *collusores manum*, i. e. *jactum redimebant*. See *Gesner*. *Quasi ex plum-bis manibus collecto*, says *Torcellinus*, in V. and goes on—*respicit autem ad vices ludendi seu jac-tus, qui ab Augusto apud Sueton. c. 71, manus dicuntur*. In the passage from *Suetonius*, *si quas manus remisi cuique exegissem*, &c. The *manus* unclaimed by *Augustus*, is the money lost after an unlucky throw. *Casaubon*. Perhaps therefore the passage in *Gellius* should be rendered,

"Like money given by the players for the throw."

for familiar, read similar.

395. *Præter propter*. *Præter* is excess, *propter*, that which it approaches. Thus we say in English a little beyond the nail, or below it. We are beyond the right mark. See *Gesner* and *Salmasius*.

416. I should have referred the reader in this page to *Dr. Taylor's Dissertation*.



